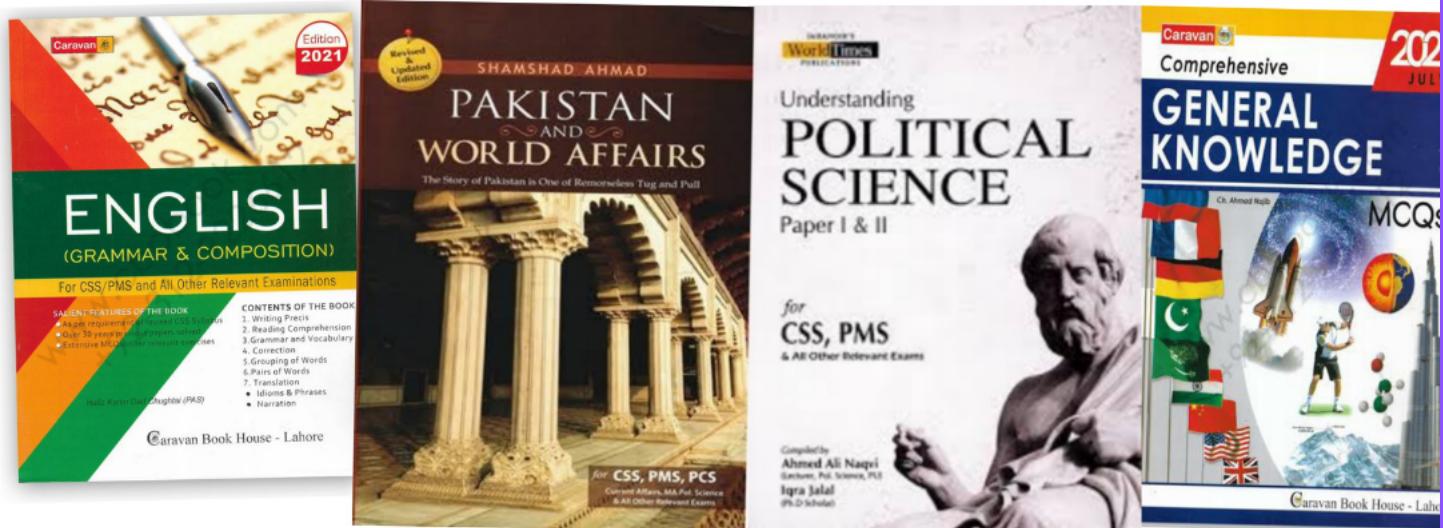


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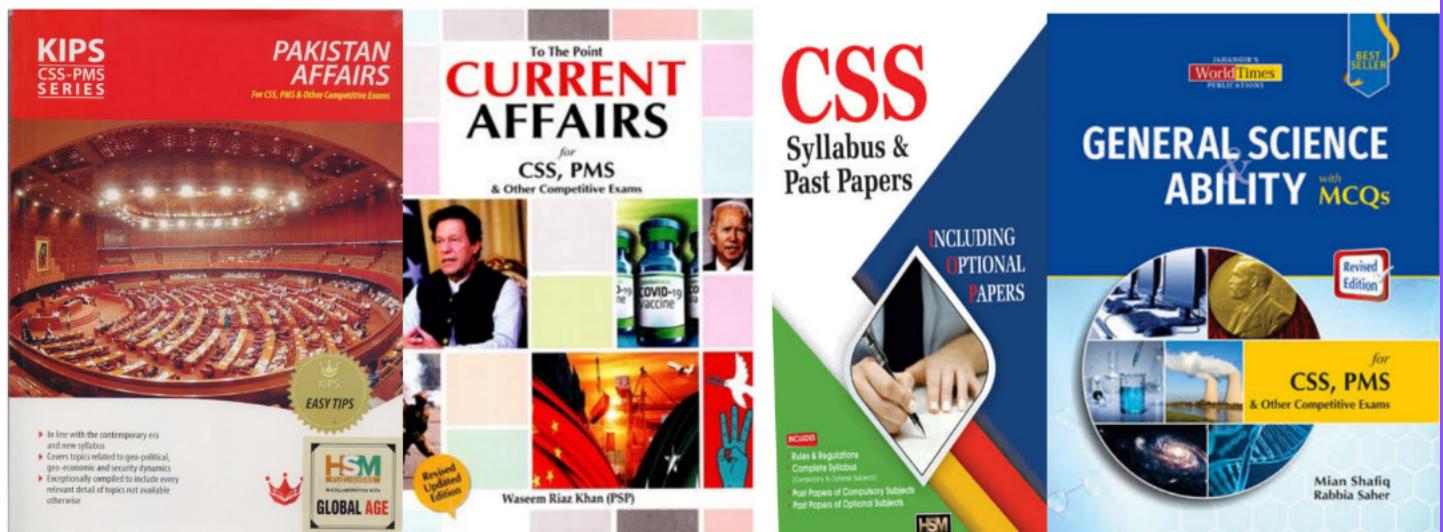
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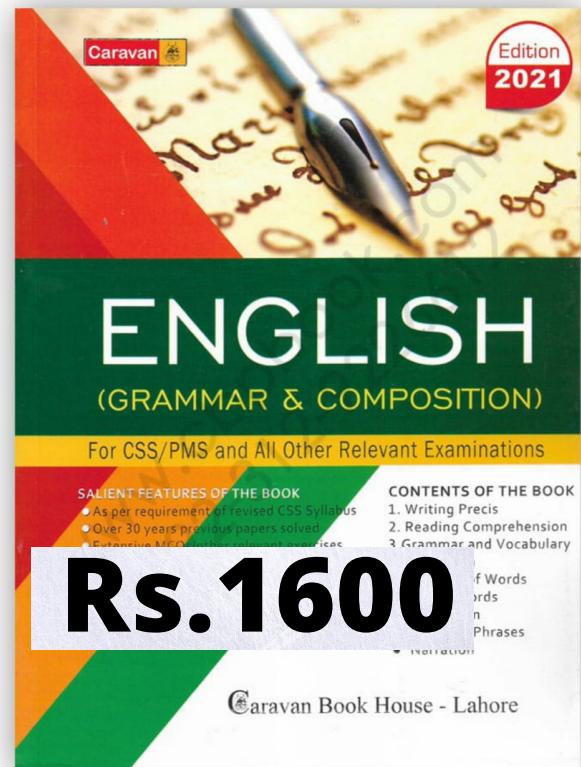
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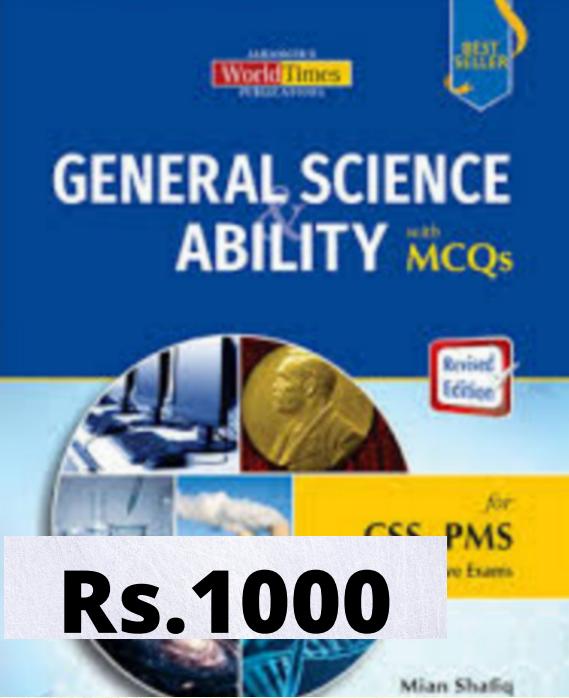
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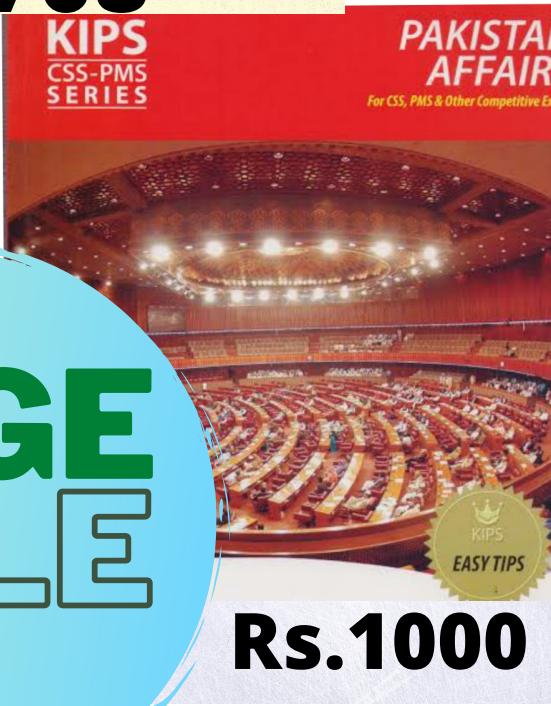


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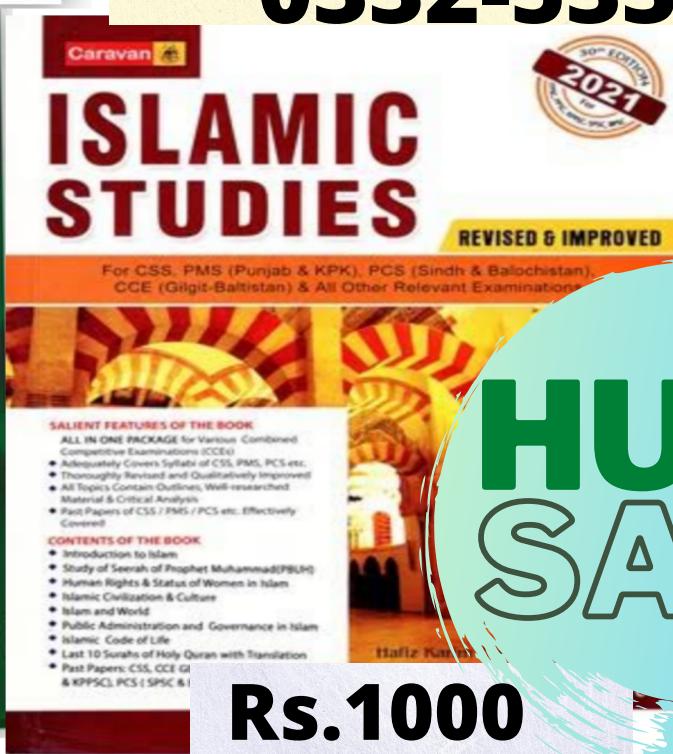
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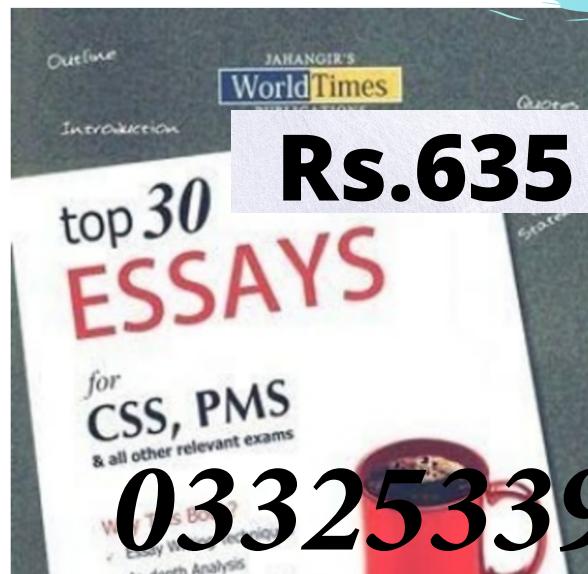
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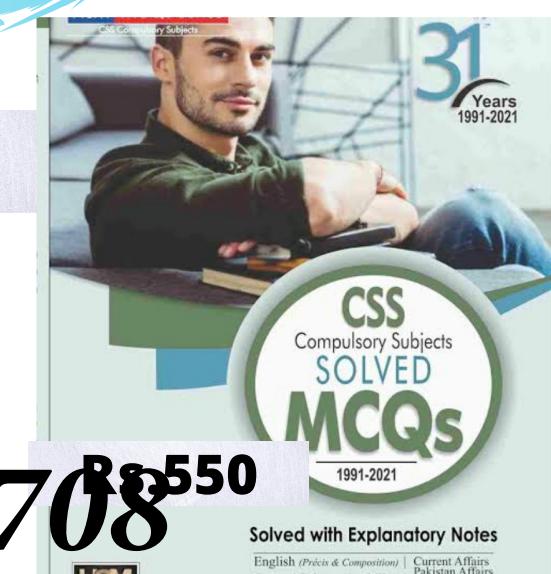
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# **ENGLISH ESSAY, PRÉCIS & COMPOSITION**

**Guess Paper  
for  
CSS-2022**



**Muhammad Sulaiman (CSP)**

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## The Future of Pakistan Lies in Digitisation

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
  - (i) Digital platforms and technologies provide cheaper access to businesses
  - (ii) Pakistan has made rapid advancement in digital technologies in the last few years
  - (iii) Pakistan can benefit immensely from the digital revolution since it can invest in IT and its youth
  - (iv) Pakistan's economy is growing and it benefits immensely from the IT and digital revolution
  - (v) Integration of economy, social and communication platforms is cheaper and easier through digital means
  - (vi) Digitisation of the economy and communication sector reflects the need of a state to integrate different sectors and move toward governance and reform process
  - (vii) Digitisation would make various tiers of the public sector redundant and may contribute to unemployment
  - (viii) Benefits of digitization to the economy and growth of public and private services can help boost economy, generate more revenue for the state
  - (ix) Advantages of Digitization of Economy
    - Use of digitization in government revenue and accountability processes
    - Integration of SBP, FBR, banks and retail sectors to increase voluntary compliance of financial laws
    - Harmony and accuracy in reporting of statistics, growth pattern and utilization of skilled human intellect
    - Increase in value-added services which can help in improving governance
- (b) Disadvantages of the digitization of economy, processes and governance
  - (i) Cultural issues and traditional public offices may not opt for digital solutions
  - (ii) Half-baked digitization has destroyed and made redundant several working tiers of the government offices
  - (iii) New job portfolios and training modules are not introduced which can absorb the workforce as a result of change in their job descriptions and functions
  - (iv) Cybercrimes in the digital domain can destroy data centres, pave way for identity theft and leave no clue in a paperless environment without adequate firewalls and back-ups
- (c) Other issues that are important when digitalization of the economy is concerned are:
  - (i) It will integrate education system with the industry and enable inflow and outflow of information which can be used for economic gains
  - (ii) It will lead to development of several digital tools and help in forging a digital identity
  - (iii) Pakistan can use its large youth population to develop new skills in this sector and secure its future
- (d) Conclusion

## ESSAY

The Fourth Industrial Revolution is currently taking place and it is digital. This revolution is going to transform traditional sectors of economies in the world in a miraculous way. It entails a synergy and integration of data sharing and information collection; and it would deliver a world of services on a palm tab and make access handy. Pakistan is at the crossroads of gaining immensely by tapping the dividends of this unfolding revolution. Roughly 60 percent of Pakistan's 220 million population is in the 15 to 29 age group which represents an enormous potential of human and knowledge capital. Presently, it has more than 2000

information technology (IT) companies and call centres and the number is growing very rapidly every year. It has more than 300,000 English speaking IT professionals with expertise in current and emerging IT products, and 13 software technology parks. It boasts more than 20,000 IT graduates and engineers, and more are being churned out each year coupled with a rising trend toward startup culture.

Cheap access to Information technology has allowed it to assume a central enabling role in the emerging dynamics of a knowledge-based society and economy. It is a key lever of economic development if tapped at optimum level through skill-based training, education and learning. Pakistan's IT sector is carving a distinguished position as a platform to develop integrated e-commerce, e-services and e-retailing, business process outsourcing (BPO) and freelancing. The country was ranked at number four for freelance development in the world and its IT exports have increased by 70 percent during the last three years.

Digital growth in Pakistan is going through a period of rapid development. IT enabled services sector is one of the fastest growing sectors of Pakistan contributing about 1 percent of GDP of Pakistan at about 3.5 billion USD. It has doubled in the past four years and experts expect it to grow a further 100 percent in the next two to four years to \$7 billion. IT exports have been recorded at \$1.067 billion in the fiscal year 2017-18 compared to \$939 million in the previous year. Pakistan's software exports are currently worth \$1.5 billion, according to a report of the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP). However, the country's freelancers also earn another \$1.2 billion in exports—an amount not recorded by the central bank as they are not registered. Moreover, another \$600 million in exports are from those companies that do not bring their revenues to Pakistan. As envisaged in Pakistan Vision 2025 and the Digital Pakistan Policy 2018, the ICT industry size is targeted to reach \$20 billion by 2025.

Law and order and security situation in Pakistan has been improving since 2015 and has given an impetus to the advent of digital platforms and technologies. Several startups like careem, daraz, zameen.com, rozee.pk, Airlift, Foodpanda, etc. have achieved success in their businesses and have successfully roped in foreign investment into Pakistan. A case in point is the acquisition of daraz and easypaisa by the Chinese group Alif.aba. Traditional investors from other Pakistani sectors like textile, fertilizers have also followed suit and are taking special interest in the IT startup ecosystem.

In the past few years internet penetration in Pakistan has increased from 2 percent to close to 30 percent. This has been enabled by a robust policy of the government to support and incentivize the IT sector so that the country can embark on the path of IT revolution. The government's facilitative measures include zero income tax businesses engaged in IT and ITeS exports. Special tax waivers have been granted to companies registered as start-ups with Pakistan Software Export Board (PSEB). In some instances, the federal government has allowed 100 percent foreign ownership of IT and ITeS companies and 100 percent repatriation of profits to foreign IT and ITeS investors. Moreover, the government has allowed a tax holiday for investments in venture capital funds till 2024.

The government of Pakistan has shown exemplary enthusiasm for the advancement and development of the IT industry. An agreement was signed between the Pakistan and Korea for Rs.10 billion in order to establish a technology park in Islamabad. Development of tech special economic zones (SEZs) has been seen as a key enabler in all countries where growth has taken place. Tech Special Zones have been included in the Prime Minister's Package, so this will help companies bringing business and investment to Pakistan. There is a rapid increase in internet penetration with the introduction of 3G/4G services. In Pakistan, the trend of establishing incubation centres and accelerators is on rise, since every year 10,000 IT graduates are produced.

China-Pakistan Economic Corridor Project (CPEC) is of great significance for both China and Pakistan. Chinese government is looking to provide a supporting role to build a stronger technological ecosystem under CPEC. Great potential has been identified in the IT sector of Pakistan keeping in view the long-term strategy of CPEC. Hence, both countries have agreed to carry out projects related to IT.

One of the CPEC digitization initiatives is 'Establishment of IT Park.' The Pak-China Science, Technology, Commerce and Logistic Park will be established at an estimated cost of \$1.5 billion. This park will be built in Islamabad in an area of 500 hectares. This will be in H-12 Islamabad near National University of Science Technology. It has been agreed that land will be provided by Pakistan to China's Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps, with China bearing the cost of investment for 10 years.

The second CPEC digitalization initiative is 'Optical Fibre Network'. Special Communications Organization (SCO) has been given the task to lay down 820 km of optical fibre cable along the CPEC starting from Khunjerab to Rawalpindi. It is a \$44 million project. This optical fibre cable project will support the

enhancement of telecommunication in the Gilgit-Baltistan region. Around 50 percent of the work has been completed since construction began in May 2016. It will be finalized in a couple of years.

The third CPEC digitalization initiative is 'Construction of Bio-Tech Laboratory, China and Pakistan have signed an Economic and Technical Cooperation Agreement, as well as pledged a "China-Pakistan Joint Cotton Bio-Tech Laboratory" as part of CPEC. The two countries also committed to build the "China-Pakistan Joint Marine Research Centre" with the State Oceanic Administration and Pakistan's Ministry of Science and Technology. Moreover, as part of the CPEC agreement, Pakistan and China have agreed to cooperate in the field of space research.

More than 2000 software houses and call centres, of which approximately 1,500 are registered local companies associated with the development of software for domestic and corporate use. The size of the software sector is approximately \$6.5 billion. A number of foreign firms operate either through their appointed local distributor or by having their own office with fully-equipped technical and support teams to cater to their customers' needs. Currently, there are companies from UK, USA, Germany, Spain and China. Some of the notable names in the IT industry include: NetSol, S&P Global, TRG Global and Teradata. The local software market offers substantial business opportunities to foreign companies who offer products for the corporate sector including: Financial management, Business forecasting, Online IT training portals, E-commerce, E-payment, Embedded tools, and other web-based applications.

Currently, development and distribution of enterprise resource management (ERM) and customized solutions for specific industry sectors are considered to be areas of interest by most of high-end companies. The Pakistan Software Export Board (PSEB), IBEX Global and Pakistan Institute of Management (PIM) have signed a memorandum of understanding to offer trainings in the areas of technical/BPO skills development. This is in order to enhance the current capacity of the BPO Industry in Pakistan.

Pakistan could usher in an era of digital empowerment across the country in the next five years. With its huge and innovative technology talent pool, Pakistan is positioned to revolutionise its public services in the domains of education, healthcare, and agricultural technology. To realize a digital Pakistan, close coordination is required between government, the private sector, academia and civil society. Together they can expand connectivity and build innovation centres to support Pakistan's transition to the digital economy. Aligning government policies and regulations, private investment, academic know-how and civil society activism for digitalization to benefit all, is the biggest challenge Pakistan faces in achieving its Vision 2025.

Digitization is a cost-effective process by virtue of which IT technology lowers the costs of storing, sharing, and analyzing data and makes a link between consumers and suppliers without the help of middlemen. It discards inefficient human interactions and removes redundant tiers. One problem with digitization—read automation—is that it would lead to elimination of low skilled working tiers. Some technology experts are of the view that industrialization contributed to unemployment of people who had lower skill sets. It was akin to machines replacing the human capital to make high value addition through automated mass manufacturing processes. With the advent of digitization, it is about time that algorithms and integrated channels of digital communication would replace human capital. This could be a boon as well as a bolt from the blue for many fragile economies which have failed to tap their human capital.

An arguable case has been made by the detractors of technology against digital revolution that it may not be fruitful for economies which have a large population to cater; and for economies whose human capital is untapped, lacking in skills sets, capacity and proper training. This seems to be true and a frightening scenario for Pakistan since it has a large chunk of population with low literacy rate, poor educational background, low internet penetration and a problematic distribution of ICT services between the rural and urban areas. Since a large population of the country lives in rural areas, there are serious reservations whether the country would be able to catch up with the digital revolution and whether the State would deliver on its promise to provide equitable access of ICT services in backward areas.

The urban landscape of the country has fairly well-developed digital infrastructure which could lead to their taking the lead in reaping the benefits of digital technologies and platforms. However, it would lead to realization of the doubts expressed by many experts that there would be little trickle down of this opportunity in rural areas and the pace of digitization would be unevenly distributed among the rural and urban areas. Thomas Friedman in his famous book, *The World Is Flat*, described the phenomenon of uneven pace of globalization among the various countries of the world when he made visits to India, Vietnam and China. Visits to Silicon Valley in US, India's Bangalore city, Vietnam's Hanoi and China's Shenzhen areas confirmed

that different areas of the world in different countries had developed almost symmetrically and equally, in terms of advancements, services provision and their effort to tap the talent pool. Thus, the conclusion was reached that 'The World is Flat.' The evenness of globalisation across different countries having different economies and level of development can be inferred as the evenness of digitization across countries having disparate socio-economic conditions.

In Pakistan's case, the future of digitization of the economy and its different sectors is promising. There are three specific areas where attention is warranted. Firstly, Pakistan's economy is not based on accurate statistics and econometrics. The Pakistan Stock Exchange (PSE) contains a handful of public limited companies that are profitable. Most trading of stocks and investments in equity is carried out through the PSE. But a large number of profitable companies and their profitability are not mentioned to suggest or speculate on their annual growth or growth of the private sector. Secondly, the operation of private companies falls within the ambit of the Securities Exchange Corporation of Pakistan (SECP). No data sharing, trends prevailing in financial markets through SECP are available on-demand for analysis so that government can incentivize some sectors and approach others that are facing any liquidity crunch. Thirdly, the issue of registration grants and weak regulation by the registrar of firms to non-corporate registered partnerships is a stumbling block in the efforts made toward digitization in absence of any integration with different chambers of commerce. Without removing these bottlenecks, there are few chances that digitization would stick into the system.

Digitization of the economy can help business expand towards international markets, helps governments assimilate GDP and tax data more accurately, helps researchers (R&D) analyze the economic trends of businesses more successfully and helps consumers make better choices from a wider array of goods and services at a shorter period of time and lesser costs. Digitization also helps social sectors redirect their philanthropic activity towards the needy and poor with faster and pinpoint accuracy. All this reduces poverty, enhances employment levels and reduces government social security expenses in the long-run.

Digitization of the economy is fundamentally changing Pakistan's economy and society from outdated colonial 19th century mind frames into a modern 21st century mind frame. It has devised a robust working methodology using new technologies, techniques and know-how. This process has transformed how consumers behave in the virtual market, how industrial activity is organized, and how governments operate. Digitalization of the economy drives entrepreneurial innovation, productivity, and regional economic growth. It has wide implications for growth, the labour market, and political participation. It places new demands on education and training, not only in the field of information and communication technologies, but also in other related disciplines like marketing, finance, accounting, e-businesses, economics and even sociology, psychology and political science.

Pakistan has enormous potential to digitize its economy and reap dividends as its IT and Communication sector is delivering in the key areas of connectivity. At present there are 152 million cell phone users, 59 million 3G/4G users and 62 million broadband subscribers. It has achieved 73.24 percent tele-density through active cell phone subscribers, 28.73 percent penetration of 3G/4G subscribers and 29.77 percent penetration of broadband users. More people today have access to mobile phones than to electricity; the amount of data generated globally is expanding exponentially.

It would be important for Pakistan to rapidly usher in digitalization of its economy and ensure its active penetration in economy, trade and industry and how it changes productivity, employment, and competitiveness in different companies and sectors. The choice to go digital would have enormous consequences. Countries that have achieved advanced levels of digitization, defined as the mass adoption of connected digital technologies and ICT applications by consumers, enterprises, and governments, have realized significant economic, social, and political benefits. For many countries, digitization is a pathway to prosperity. Pakistan can't sit idle to be ignored disproportionately behind.

Digitization of the economy can tremendously help promote employment of young graduates in finance, accounting, marketing, and law and tax consultants. It can give exact data of the economy and make it easier for the government to calculate its revenue sources. It can enable the government to provide incentives to the industry and businesses, and give taxpayers the opportunity to direct their efforts to chart a robust policy towards economic growth and increase exports. It can help in building strong communication links which can integrate small businesses with large ones and promote a free flow of supply chain management.

One of the key realizations that have jolted Pakistan is that the process of successfully implementing digitalization across the board can immensely help revenue mobilization and generation. Digitalization has put into spotlight these key focus areas of the federal and provincial governments since they want to improve governance and service delivery. The focus of digitization is to develop a robust tax culture, boost in trade, better access to financial markets, people's ability to adapt to the changing world of work through the education and training system. It would also provide a greater international recognition to the Pakistani economy and makes it difficult for corrupt practices, money laundering, smuggling and terror financing. Compliance to human and environment conventions also becomes transparent. Several studies have suggested that government and the businesses become more accountable and focused in supplying essential goods and services to the general public without minimal human interventions. Moreover, role of discretion in government decision making which often leads to traversing blurred lines between right and wrong are minimized due to software interventions.

The digital platform is in fact a responsive, need and research-based platform that can help in spreading plethora of solutions in different fields. Presently, research in the field of digitization covers research in several allied fields, including fields such as industrial organization, labour economics, and intellectual property. Consequently, many of the contributions to the economics of digitization have also found an intellectual home in these fields because consumers can buy commodities from the safety of their homes and even small service providers, especially of intellectual nature and services can work with their computers, laptops and mobiles from home and link importers (buyers) to exporters (sellers) and vice versa through the internet. This is precisely the area where policy makers need to focus so that dividends of digitization could be achieved.

The effect of digitization on industrial organization, growth and innovation will be manifold since it would influence online platforms and marketplaces that are changing rapidly from physical markets to virtual markets. An urgent need is being felt to integrate the traditional markets and economic transactions between e-markets and e-transactions. User generated content and open-source production has been influenced by changes in technologies, consumer choices and preferences and because of decrease in information costs due to the internet, especially in the era of Covid-19. Digitalization has also changed the face of advertising, especially due to the extensive use of social media networks. Another issue is that companies with new, internet-based business models, such as Ali Baba and Uber, pose challenges for regulation aimed at traditional service providers. These internet-based companies would force the traditional commodity providers to change or lose their business to rapidly growing e-businesses in the near future.

The effects of digitization on labour markets are already being felt as more and more industries opt for technology and automation. Sadly, earlier industrial revolutions kept on reducing manual labour and size of machines. With the advent of semiconductors and chemical substrate-based integrated circuits, size, efficiency and control have become highly automated. Tellingly, digitization has partially or fully replaced many tasks done by human labourers and is in the process of saving more energy, time and cost. In some places, computers have made some workers much more productive. Economists are interested in understanding how these two forces of digitization and human intellect interact in determining labour market outcomes. Another consequence of digitization is that it has drastically reduced the costs of communication between workers across different organizations and locations. This has led to a change in the geographic and contractual organization of production.

Digitisation can be branded as a game changer and equalizer for many developing countries. Many production functions and intellectual services such as software, financial, legal, etc. that were being done in technologically and industrially advanced countries have rapidly been shifted to less developed countries such as Vietnam, Bangladesh, India, Philippines and India. This has been a boon for these countries since it is helping their economies to earn precious foreign exchange and enhance the capacity of their human resource. India due to sub-contracting has become the fourth largest foreign exchange earner in the world from IT and BPO services. Pakistan can also follow suit and help its youth capture these fast-changing opportunities due to digitalization of the world economies.

The opportunity provided by digitization is promising since it presents the consumer with comparative choice. The effects of digitization on consumer choice will be enormous due to the extensive

use of more powerful search engines and recommendation systems that have been introduced on the internet. The rating system has produced a mechanism for enforcement so that people could choose for themselves on the basis of a reputation system available on public display. In this way, the businesses, individuals and corporations would be subject to ethical behaviours and would be able to provide more cost-effective quality products that are in competition with their rival service providers.

Pakistan needs a holistic strategy and policy on the digitization of the economy. There are certain areas which can become potential hotspots for miscreants and criminal elements to misuse the authority, freedom and ease granted to consumers through digital platforms. The federal government needs a uniform policy based on consensus of the federating units to devise a national digital policy wherein grave concerns such as theft of digital identity, intellectual property rights, digital signatures, security of digital wallets, hacking of digital accounts, and terror financing could be addressed. The country will have to move swiftly to develop mechanisms in order to enforce policy and laws pertaining to intellectual property and digitization of its virtual economy. It has enormous work out for it to protect privacy, security, and digitization of businesses and individuals from fraud and misrepresentations by unscrupulous elements.

Pakistan has been under the constant wrath of FATF compliance for the last many years, therefore, it needs to be more vigilant in securing its digital space for commerce, trade and exchange of commodities. Terror financing is indeed a big concern for the country as well as the digital channels which could come under influence. Since the digital channels are often hidden from plain sight and may carry no documentation, or the transactions could be camouflaged in the labyrinthine of different servers placed in different jurisdictions, it is not going to be easy to fight cybercrimes. Therefore, clear identity codes, verification and regular monitoring of these digital channels is required. It needs to be appreciated that various traditional monitoring agencies will have to revamp their *modus operandi* to remain vigilant and deter any criminal activity.

Digitization may affect government effectiveness and accountability. It makes it easier for firms in one jurisdiction to supply consumers in another. This creates challenges for tax enforcement, but it is imperative that the economy and businesses should be digitized for better information and data sharing that would help consumers make better choices; enable businesses to decide whether to outsource or to produce domestically; and would provide clues to the labour resource to channelize their skills from less paid jobs towards more paid jobs. The government can lower the tax rate, but broaden its tax base and enforce efficiency into its tax systems for greater transparency and enforcement of the revenue regime as well as its expenditures from current to development. Many economists think that, "Many safety and quality enforcement regulations may no longer be necessary with the advent of the online reputation system."

One of the natural and obvious outcomes of adopting IT in any public sector organization is the generation of data — and introducing more IT systems into government departments will certainly generate more data. But to be made meaningful for decision-makers, this raw data needs to be processed, ultimately resulting in a culture of data-driven policymaking. Good data can lead to good decisions, hence good governance. On the other hand, bad data leads to arbitrary decisions, hence bad governance. IT adoption comes with the promise of speedy and simplified processes with little or no human interaction. For the government, this implies that it can facilitate its citizens without discrimination or bias. For the people, this entails remote, paperless, and cashless transactions with the government and assures uniform and easy access to government facilities.

Despite the benefits that would accrue with the adoption of digitization in Pakistan's public sector, there are a handful of serious challenges which need to be addressed so that the country could embark on the road to successful implementation of the digitization drive. One obvious danger of a rapidly expanding digital market is the redundancy of a large population. Unemployment would definitely soar as more and more businesses automate. A large population is a talent pool for robust economic production but it can become a liability if there are not adequate opportunities. Such a scenario would be a terrible waste of time and precious resources of the State. Pakistan can ill-afford to experiment given its large population. Lamentably, over the years successive governments have paid little heed to leash the menace of population growth. Investment in local labour-intensive industry has been made to accommodate more helping hands employed at meagre salaries. It needs to be appreciated that digital technology caters highly skilled and intellectual human capital. Somehow, digitization seems an early call for the growth and transformation of Pakistan's economy.

Pakistan's government framework, work ethics and culture are not conducive for the wholesale implementation of digitization. Concrete efforts are required to introduce a culture and space for digitization of public services. There are ample examples wherein upon automation significant working tiers in the

government departments were vaporised. Despite automation and swift channels of communication public officials relied more on traditional channels to give themselves a true notion of having done some work. Moreover, digital channels of communication were often frowned upon since they reduced room for discretion, introduced no timing difference and often eliminated feedback routes. In several instances, people have opposed the disturbance of the status quo brought about by technology. Some studies have suggested that often technology is opposed per se since it adds elements of transparency, visibility, and accountability for all stakeholders. Therefore, this social change demands careful management from an organizational behaviour or cultural change expert.

Digitization may require new rules of business for public organizations since they have become outdated and are no more required in the practical arena. In the process of devising new rules of business, the role of department's top leadership is most critical. It would be required of this leadership to steer the entire digital transformation process to some logical conclusion, otherwise it would be a waste of time and effort. Implementation of digitization projects should be based on good faith and sincerity. Often with a change in leadership, any previous changes are immediately discarded and new are brought in to favour prevailing interests. This trend needs to be changed so that digitization is comprehensive and smooth.

There aren't any harmonious rules which require purchase of software for the digitization of different sectors of the economy. There needs to be clarity regarding what rules are to be framed, how the purchasing would be done and which parties are going to compete in the bidding process. After any successful bid process, funds should be immediately released so that any action doesn't get delayed. There should also be a national policy for the governance of data and special accessibility protocols on the basis of reputation and violations for policymakers. There should be explicit permissions in the law with certain caveats to monitor data and its sharing. For the justice sector, for example, why can't police share an authentic digital copy of a FIR to public prosecution and courts? Why can't court orders be digitally shared with prisons, police, prosecution, probation, and petitioners or respondents? In the absence of a coherent national data policy, there will always be unnecessary procedural delays, both in public policy formulation and service delivery to citizens.

It has been stated that data is the new gold for trading among countries. This is quite true given the fact that countries now share billions of terabytes of data each day without boundaries. New trends have emerged in the field of data science and data mining which have enabled developed countries to study trends in stocks, financial markets, weather patterns, speculation areas, prospective industrial growth, etc. This seems to be true in case of Pakistan since a flurry of investments have been made in different IT platforms. The transformation of insurance, banking and other services has been phenomenal. Almost every business now begins with an application on Google play store or apple store. Thereafter, a business places itself on different social networking platforms like Facebook, Instagram, Twitter and Snack video, etc. In this way, a digital space is earned by a business and it attracts more commerce and multiplies itself.

Pakistan's inequitable and unbalanced education system has been exposed blatantly during the Covid-19 crisis. Many schools catering to the middle and high social classes moved to digital platforms for running the academic year. However, the dilapidated public education system suffered issues of accessibility, internet availability and lack of IT enabled devices. Therefore, no meaningful education could take place for the public sector enrolled students. Though this presents a bleak picture in which some gained due to digitization and a big lot lost, there is still hope that by making access to technology better, the need to maintain old dilapidated schools and ageing teachers can be obviated. Travel time and distance is especially a big deterrent for girl students. If gadgets are distributed among female students, they can participate in remote learning. Moreover, the government can also provide internet to students below 21 years of age with subsidized internet packages or broadband connections.

Digitization is of great importance to healthcare policy. For example, electronic medical records have the potential to make healthcare more effective. Number of patients treated for different diseases across the various health facilities can be calculated at one click. This data can be coupled with on ground realities, the frequency of the disease and its prevalence. Decisions can be made swiftly which can improve prevention and reduce contact. During the coronavirus crisis, technology driven through data was effectively used to collect data on patient load, availability of hospital beds and life-saving medicine.

Agriculture sector can receive a massive boost through the use of digital platforms. Information sharing on crops, use of fertilizer, availability of inputs, pesticides, etc. can be transmitted through different communication

channels to apprise and educate the farmer. Real time monitoring of water usage, energy usage and land utilized can be achieved. Pakistan can gain spectacularly if it uses research in the field of digital agronomics.

The need to take the next step in the digital reformation of Pakistan cannot be stressed enough. Modern techniques of employing big data management, artificial intelligence, and effective human-computer interaction are the key areas that will help accelerate the process of e-governance. Pakistan needs to go a long way in its efforts to digitize its economy. It has to digitize its stocks, land record, production and service delivery. As the fifth most populous country of the world, Pakistan is ripe to make the best use of technology for effective policymaking, governance, and service delivery. The gains made in IT export and ICT technology can help mobilise more revenue for the State. A large female population is deprived of opportunity and access to education and employment. This issue can be addressed through digital platforms so that participation and contribution of females in the socio-economic development of the country can be achieved. The optimum of digital economy and tools can increase GDP, integrate different sectors of the economy and add to the prosperity of the State. Effective and prompt use of digital technology can lead to a digital future which will usher a new era of efficient communication, payment and service delivery platforms.

## How can Pakistan Achieve the Status of a Developed Nation?

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Pakistan can achieve the status of a developed nation if it focuses on areas which have been neglected or where there is hardly any modicum of governance
- (c) Pakistan needs to focus on the following areas which would help it achieve the status of a developed nation:
  - (i) A sincere effort to improve governance through rule of law, empowerment of law enforcing institutions and judiciary
  - (ii) Impartial accountability mechanisms, procedures and institutions for the public and private sectors
  - (iii) Following a well-directed economic model that is focused on the returns and viability as per modern economic and financial practices
  - (iv) A crystal-clear focus on economy and to remove the systemic imbalances which lead to country making hard choices frequently
  - (v) Developing core science and technology expertise and enriching a culture of research to move the wheel of innovation
  - (vi) Implementation of technology exchange and transfer programmes with the existing developed countries
  - (vii) Reducing the pace of population growth and investing in health, education and job employment schemes
  - (viii) Harnessing the potential of a large youth population through proper training, educational and job opportunities
  - (ix) Implementation of social safety nets for the poor segments of the population and microcredit schemes for the low-end segments of the population to address their financial crunch issues
  - (x) Building strong democratic institutions and political processes to make political process participative
- (c) Government efforts to make it possible to achieve the status of a developed nation
  - (i) Government has launched efforts to digitize and revolutionize the economic and financial markets
  - (ii) Implementation of CPEC projects which have generated jobs, made investments in key communications, social and technological sectors
  - (iii) Several social protection schemes have been launched with the aim to help young population develop its own business, etc.
  - (iv) Efforts to give special concessions to the IT, manufacturing and agriculture sectors
  - (v) Reforms in the political, social and economic sectors through policy interventions to improve governance through rule of law, fool proof democratic process and independence of institutions
  - (vi) Public-private initiatives to introduce better compliances to financial laws and collection of taxes
  - (vii) Decrease in income gap between the rich and poor with specific focus on tapping revenue through a judicious taxation system to reduce the gap between the haves and have-nots
- (d) Conclusion

### ESSAY

Pakistan needs to put sincere efforts to pull it out of myriad problems which are hindering its goal to achieve the status of a developed nation. As per the classification of UN and international financial institutions, it is a developing country often branded as Third World country. It has a large population fraught with high growth rates, health, education and literacy challenges. Its public institutions are in derelict state and a wide chasm of distrust exists between the state bureaucracy and citizens. The sorry state of affairs of governance at federal and provincial levels and deplorable plight of governing structures remains intact since the State has failed to part with a rotting colonial mindset and legacy. Rule of law has been a casualty to partisan interests

and nepotism and favouritism. Independence of judiciary is still a far cry at the lower tiers of the judicial system. There is weak institutional accountability checks which can curb illicit flow of money and kick-backs received. Fundamental rights and women rights have been guaranteed by the Constitution but it is an arduous task to have access to them. Flawed economic policies have led to spurts of boom-and-bust cycles over the years. A weak economic base has compromised the sovereignty and independence of the country. Energy is a key component of the country's economy but comes at a very high cost of fuel differential charges, line losses, restricted access in rural areas and poor metering. Research and development have not been encouraged through the pulpit of federal, provincial higher education commissions. The political climate is rife with recrimination and bickering and there is hardly any semblance of political stability. The country lags behind on human development index and doesn't boast a sustainable economic growth model. These daunting challenges need to be overcome so that Pakistan could become a developed nation.

The Scandinavian countries are often cited as a beacon of inspiration for developing countries. These countries have achieved development status way back in the 1960s and are now counted among the comity of welfare states. The hallmark of these developed countries is that they have a narrow gap of distribution of income and wealth between the rich and the poor. A vast majority of the population lives above the poverty line and has a high income. Population growth is almost stagnant, low, and the State collects enough revenue to cater to the needs of its thriving population. People have readily available access to education, health and security. State institutions are robust, highly resourced and efficient. There is rule of law, guarantee of fundamental rights and equal opportunities to participate in the economic, social and political activities. Discrimination on the basis of religion, race, language or ethnicity is highly discouraged. There are universal property and nationality rights available to people. There is economic, social and political stability. Industry is technologically highly advanced and the entire economy is highly skilled and knowledge based.

There has been witnessed an earnest desire in the previous few years to transform Pakistan into a welfare state. The myriad problems of the country stand in front of this noble goal to transform the country into a developed welfare state. The challenge to bring about this transformation has become complicated in wake of the 18th Amendment to the constitution since major functions of nation building have now been taken away from the federation and have been devolved to the provincial governments. The federation is now bestowed only with the public sector development programme (PSDP) which aims to develop national projects coordinating between the federating units in the form of communication projects, liaison with international and regional organisations and investment in infrastructure development projects. Nevertheless, there is still room to define broad contours of engagement between the federation and federating units so that chronic hunger, high unemployment, low literacy rate, gender gap in employment, health care, widening income distribution gap, defective access to law, etc. could be addressed.

The ultimate aim of democracy and rule of law is to achieve viable governance so that a State could discharge its responsibility toward the citizens. Regrettably, in case of Pakistan governance is an uncommon commodity. Governance depends on efficient functioning of State institutions and adherence to rule of law and rules of business. There are two aspects of rule of law: one is the functioning of State institutions as per the mandate and responsibilities entrusted; second is the independence of judiciary and its impartiality. On the first score of governance vis-à-vis State institutions, rules and procedures are frequently bypassed or exceptions are made to make room for any excess. Often rules and their language are twisted to favour certain monopolies or often exigencies. This manner of governance is not well suited for delivering efficient and fool-proof outcomes. Institutions are strengthened through organisational values, principles and culture where the individual is not important. Decisions are made through consensus keeping in view all the repercussions and consequences. Every decision is weighed and its impact is calculated. Decision-making tiers are well defined and the entire structure of decision making is made participative. Pakistan needs to work on these areas to improve its governance structures if it wants to join the comity of developed nations.

Consider the role of automation and technologically driven decision making in the effort to improve governance. The software clearly sets limits to the decision making as stipulated in the rules and regulations. Any aberration or exception is unacceptable and would require a reboot or breach of the code. Modern efficient governance systems have evolved a hybrid model of human and machine-based governance wherein role of discretion has been minimized. Pakistan can immensely benefit from implementation of a highly technical and well documented hybrid governance model to improve its prospects to achieve the developed nation status. It will aid federal government and enable provincial governments to sift data regarding the number of people who deserve medical or financial assistance. Municipal and district governments could map

the population as per their earning capacities and gauge the flow of patients to nearby health facilities. Prevalence of communicable and infectious disease can be measured through data feeding and then concerned authorities could kick in their efforts to take remedial and corrective measure.

Pakistan scores abysmally on the issue of rule of law. Its lower courts are far from independent and often take decisions in haste or under societal, religious and cultural duress. The incidence of incompetence, corruption and failure to follow due process is often linked to the functioning of lower courts. It has often been discussed that there is shortage of staff and judges in the courts. There are huge backlogs of cases teeming above two million which are stuck at various judicial forums. Judicial inertia has stalled the true realization of rule of law since there are endless stays, no limitation laws on various criminal and civil procedures, shoddy investigations by police investigation teams, and absence of witness protection. It is a bemoaning state that many civil and criminal laws are stuck in the colonial era and find justification in a regressive judicial set-up. Recently, another despicable phenomenon has reared its head in which due to lack of trust and populist appeal, lower courts often uphold decisions on contentious issues pertaining to property rights, religion and criminal indictments. However, these decisions only aggravate the plight and agony of the litigants which find no redress but to approach higher judicial forums.

Higher appellate judicial forums have wearingly assumed the responsibility of adjudicating matters which are stuck and stalled in the lower judicial forums. Part of the problem with this approach is that it is a time-consuming exercise and adds more financial burden on the parties at dispute. Additionally, it doesn't solve the core problem of reforming the judicial system by making lower tiers of judiciary more responsible for their decisions; install more judges to clear large backlogs and empower the judges to take independent decisions. There is also a need to manage on an even keel the relationship between the bar and the bench. Over the years the balance of power has shifted in favour of the bench where lawyers often use force and arm-twisting tactics to influence decisions. There is dire need to put an end to this horrible power structure that exists in the judicial framework and is tantamount to make a mockery of the entire judicial process.

Accountability in Pakistan is a red herring and highly controversial subject concerning public institutions. But it is indispensable for every functioning tier of State institution to place a check on the exercise of the functions of the State and to make an officer and official in charge responsible for their actions. Pakistan needs a highly effective accountability mechanism and institutional regulations which should be in place to check for any transgressions and excesses. At present, there is a National Accountability Bureau (NAB) at federal level which acts as a watchdog against financial embezzlement, corruption and malfeasance. There are provincial anti-corruption departments in all four federating units. However, there is scarce information and mystery shrouds the working of these anti-graft and anti-corruption institutions. There are multiple overlapping jurisdictions without clearly defined legal and prosecution boundaries which often weaken arguable cases against potential miscreants.

The accountability process often runs astray and smacks of victimization given the manner in which it is carried out. Often the purported aim of the accountability process is to smash down political opponents and politically discredit them. No wonder then that accountability process becomes a witch-hunt and farcical exercise. Matters have come to this pass because the accountability institutions don't have political consensus to support them. Moreover, allegations of corruption have often been the biggest charges to indict opponents. If the country is serious in achieving the status of a developed country, it would have to show genuine sincerity in instilling a fair and judicious accountability process which is above board and impartial.

A candid move can be made at federal and provincial level to establish fool proof accountability process in public institutions. Public and private firms should be allowed to have access to the proceedings against alleged violators. Performance metrics about cases opened for investigation and the conviction rate or numbers should be shared with the public at large. Since corruption and malfeasance operate in tandem with the private sector and government contractors, a dedicated audit wing should be allocated to verify financial statements and profit posted in their annual declarations.

Pakistan's economic performance over decades has been bleak and unsatisfactory. The economic model being followed by successive governments was never inclusive for large segments of the population. The economic model was elitist, import oriented, heavily invested in consumption sectors such as sugar, cement, auto-parts, paint, steel, ceramics, banks, and textiles. Even in case of export sectors, the performance of the country to set a viable, rapidly developing and expanding export sector was unsatisfactory. Despite concessional rates for electricity dedicated for the textile sector, exports didn't grow significantly. Attention

was not paid to the fact that an import-oriented economy would not be able to develop competition and lead to frequent cycles of boom and bust.

It is high time that Pakistan implements a modern and competitive economic model. It needs to incentivize new comers in the field of manufacturing, agriculture, information technology and other services sectors. A recent survey carried out by State Bank on the state of affairs of developed countries suggested that these countries have achieved manufacturing status and it comprises less than 30 percent of their GDP. The major portion of these developed countries is to make good use of services sector so that manufactured produce could be utilized effectively and efficiently through value added chains of whole sale and retail trade.

A systemic flaw exists in Pakistan's obsession with the manufacturing sector without heavily investing in research and development. Pakistan needs a heavily-mandated manufacturing sector since it needs to employ a burgeoning population. But the issue remains that more and more manufacturing businesses are becoming highly automated which gives them the luxury to save money for automation instead of employing low skilled labour. In this context of rapidly changing automation in the field of manufacturing and agriculture, it is high time that the country adopts modern methods of production and labour utilization policies. It wouldn't be out of place that engagement of a large chunk of population in the services sector such as health, education, banking, Information Technology and tourism could pave the way toward better governance and earn precious foreign exchange for the country. The basic structure of Pakistan's economy is based on its reliance on services sector which makes more than 60 percent contribution to its gross domestic product (GDP). Manufacturing and agriculture sectors employ a large chunk of labour force but their contribution in the GDP is less than 20 percent, respectively.

Economy of Pakistan needs a major overhaul to delink it from an import reliant, costly fuel driven and low value product generation model. It needs to reduce its reliance on luxury imports and increase its exports to avoid trade deficit. Pakistan's economy is heavily dependent on imports since it has failed to manufacture value-added goods indigenously. Moreover, a large part of import bill roughly exceeding \$10 billion comprises fuel that drives local manufacturing, energy and transportation. At this point it needs to be stressed that there is no excuse for the country being abundantly blessed with natural water resources and a vast agriculture system to import wheat, sugar and cotton from other countries. The bemoaning state of affairs speaks volumes about the negligence of authorities at provincial level which have failed to apprise farmers and large farm land owners to adopt modern technologically advanced agriculture methods. Crop failures and low yields are some of the systemic issues which add to the woes of the economy. Another consideration here deserves attention: Pakistan doesn't produce value-added food products despite the fact that it has been blessed abundantly with one of the most exotic fruits, nuts and shrubs. The examples of Danish cookies, cheese, butter, Swiss chocolate are delicacies in the food sector and Pakistan can emulate these models to make the best use of its food chains.

Pakistan needs diversification of its exports on a war footing since so far only a handful sectors are catering to the \$20 billion plus exports made by it. At the outset, it needs a transfer of technology, technical knowledge and investment in its education sectors. It is worth lamenting that most multi-national companies in Pakistan have no research and development programmes which could enable indigenous transfer of technology and development. There are various sectors such as gadget design, product development, machine design, Information technology, medical services provision, etc. which remain largely ignored. Instead of relying on brick-and-mortar projects, Pakistan should tap its unique potential and become a world leader.

Pakistan needs a culture of research in science and technology with specific focus to tap new emerging technology markets. During the Musharraf era in the early part of the 2000s, Higher Education Commission made some significant strides to produce qualitative research in different fields of science and technology. Many graduates qualified from prestigious universities worldwide and came back to serve their country. Regrettably, no spade work was done during this period to absorb highly educated candidates in the research laboratories and departments across various public and private universities. Ultimately joblessness or lack of application of research in relative field led to disenchantment among many qualified doctorate students and they moved to greener pastures abroad.

There seems to be no appetite lost to make costly mistakes when it comes to revamping research laboratories and centres in different public and private sector universities. Part of the problem lies that despite good remuneration packages for highly qualified candidates, absence of infrastructure and research collaboration with foreign universities makes application of knowledge redundant. Pakistan would have to change this approach and in wake education being devolved to provincial governments, extra effort needs to be

expended so that meaningful research could take place. In the same vein, private entrepreneurship also demands research and readily available machinery, tech solutions to grow. A lot of work remains to be done so that public and private researchers can collaborate and contribute to the industrial development of the country. Some estimates have shown that rich scientific heritage of the Western countries is more than four hundred years old. This scientific heritage was preceded by an age of inquiry, inquisition and experimentation. In case of Pakistan there is some bad news when it comes to technology and development. It has long ago missed the bandwagon of technological progress in majority of the field areas of study. Nevertheless, it can still catch up on the fast moving pace of development and progress if it uses reverse engineering and technology transfer programmes to develop an indigenous scientific base. China, initially, mastered the art of reverse engineering and synthesis by developing low end technology and meshing it up with advanced solutions offered by the international companies such as General Electric, Siemens, Nokia, Apple, etc. to develop competitive products. Astonishingly, today Chinese companies have replaced industrial giants such as Nokia, Siemens, Nortel, and Motorola in communication technologies. It is the need of the hour for Pakistan to invest in technology exchange programmes to catch up with the developed world.

Pakistan needs specific micro attention toward the development of efficient governance models in the public sector. It can do this through use of information technology and artificial intelligence. The first step would be to make remove the opacity of information that haunts all tiers of the public sector and make them inaccessible. Suppose an ordinary citizen wants to get a house registered. There should be specific information centres located in the concerned areas, useful updated information displayed on the website of the land registering organization and the person should have a crystal-clear idea about how are the concerned stakeholders which need to be contacted to broker any property deal. This is just one example where information opacity can be reduced to give people idea how and who to approach. Automation would then become crucial since many organizations can be linked together to have liaison and interconnectivity. Artificial intelligence would be used to make decision-making better and improve the redundancy in different processes which reduce work burden at different tiers and make service delivery easy. Without taking these steps there is little hope that Pakistan can earn itself a respectable future.

Climate change is one of the big challenges for the developed and developing countries of the world. According to UN panel on climate change, Pakistan is the fifth most affected nation as a result of climate change. It needs to be recognized that Pakistan is not among the top ten biggest contributors of greenhouse gases, carbon dioxide and atmospheric pollution. Pakistan is especially vulnerable to the depredations of climate change since its entire economy and agriculture depends on the vast glaciers and river systems. In wake of fast receding glaciers, water would be drained in the Arabian Sea and the country would be left with droughts and famine. Realizing the gravity of the situation, the government has set ambitious goals to tackle climate change. There has been a billion plus tree plantation tsunami to protect against atmospheric pollution and reduce the impact of emissions on the climate and weather patterns of the country. Meanwhile, government has vowed to invest in clean energy projects, which are cheap and easily accessible to large sections of the population. Several policy announcements have been made to give economic concessions to investors who plan to make investment in clean infrastructure, clean energy, electric and hybrid vehicles, etc. In order to reduce fuel costs government has planned to increase public transport especially in large urban centres and discourage use of private vehicle. The sound bites emerging from these policy interventions signal positive outcomes and can help the country to achieve its goals in the short-term.

Pakistan needs to work seriously on its population growth rates and should bring it down. It is sitting on a population bomb which can explode any moment and create pandemonium inside its boundaries. Unplanned swelling urban areas and high migration rates from rural to urban areas is creating immense pressure on the delivery of civic amenities in the cities. A high population growth means that the country is adding more and more people in its ranks without taking care of the old guards. Pakistan has a terrible record of managing the affairs of its population in terms of provision of education, health, potable drinking water and equal opportunity to jobs. Developed countries have low population growth rates and they carefully plan each age bracket of the population to see whether they can be utilized as useful members of the society.

The biggest road block in way of Pakistan becoming a developed nation which can claim to be a welfare state is the issue of population. Poverty, unemployment and lack of attention to the needs of the people stem from the overburdened State institutions which cannot cater to such a large population. Moreover, the State doesn't

have enough resources to feed, protect, educate and raise such a large population. Without putting brakes on population growth, there is no possibility that country can get away with the tag of a developing nation.

Pakistan has made a mockery of its educated class and its education system which lacks skills and capacity to compete on a global scale. Although it is often touted that Pakistan has a large talent pool but ironically this talent is lying idle and latent since it cannot be tapped. There is joblessness, despondency, lack of opportunities and training, poor capacity building and low skills set which haunt the youth and have encumbered the efforts of the State to harness the potential of this widely available resource. In fact, the way Pakistani universities hand over degrees to youth is a clear failure on part of our education and examination system. The quality of books is pathetic, examination skills are never adequately tested, pedagogy is archaic and the entire education system is built on the edifice of cramming, lacking in intellectual depth and inquiry.

Proper skilled training, expertise in vocational areas and apprenticeship in companies is required so that the lessons learnt during college and university tenure could be applied in the original job markets. Without opting for a skilled labour challenge and a capacity enriched education model, there is little hope that Pakistan can become a developed nation.

Poverty in the country has been increased in the wake of Covid-19 crisis and as per estimates of UNDP, around 37 percent of the population has slipped below the poverty line. There has been widespread unemployment during the coronavirus pandemic and many people have struggled to meet both ends. The federal government launched an ambitious Rs.1.2 trillion social safety and economic rehabilitation programme to help downtrodden and cash strapped families through a monthly Rs.12,000 cash transfer programme. The country needs more social safety nets so that it can help people through time of chronic poverty and enable them to access credit funded by government to start new business. Many foreign institutions and analysts have lauded the efforts of the government to protect vulnerable sections of the population. But it needs to be understood that poverty can only be eliminated through opportunity and employment. There is no other way round to overcome poverty and achieve the status of a developed nation. Pakistan can manage its poverty profile if federal and provincial governments work carefully to identify needy families and then create opportunities by inviting private investors to boost employment. Meanwhile, government through State Bank can help small businesses with credit facilities so that they could pay their employees.

A stable political order and apparatus forms the bedrock of governance and keeps a country firm in its standing to uphold rule of law and deliver on the enunciations made in the sacred statute books. Pakistan has faced political turmoil and instability for decades oscillating between military dispensations and elected democratic governments. Participative, open-ended and democratic institutions give rulers and politicians to make the best use of their efforts to enable the nation to progress and achieve prosperity. In case of Pakistan an exclusionary political process tilted heavily in favour of rich land owning and industrialist class has wreaked disaster in the last seven decades. Political choices remained narrow, politics remained an exclusive game for the rich and no meaningful attention could be paid to the worsening plight of ordinary people. This sorry state of affairs where the entire political process is self-serving cannot help Pakistan's desire to become a developed nation.

Digital future awaits Pakistan to embark on the path of development and progress. Lately, digital rights, freedom and independence have come under attack by some unpopular decisions of the government to encumber access and introduce regulation. This is not going to be helpful for the cause of development. Already the country is lagging behind on digital payment mechanisms, protection of identity, and access to international markets. The globalized world has changed the way in which capital and information markets work. Despite some unpopular steps, the government has introduced reforms to help people with more access to internet, data and payment mechanisms. Pakistan needs to connect the dots of utilizing digital platforms and earning from the services sector so that ease of doing business can be achieved.

'Roshan Digital Accounts' and Alternate Delivery Channels (ADC) have been launched wherein Pakistanis residing outside Pakistan can deposit their foreign exchange and deliver money to their families back home through swift electronic channels. The contribution in Roshan Digital Accounts topped \$2.4 billion in a span of two years. Similarly, the ADC e-payment portal by Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) has been developed where importers, exporters and local taxpayers can pay their federal taxes through normal banking channels. The e-payment modules for the payment of provincial taxes have also been implemented by respective information technology boards of provincial governments which are looking after excise, agriculture and property taxes. Digitisation of economy at formal and informal tiers of the economy will help in the

documentation of the economy, ease taxation and boost revenue collection. Recently, FBR launched a Point of Sale (POS) system to tap the collection of taxes at the retail and wholesale stage. As per Economic Survey of Pakistan 2020-21 retail and wholesale trade contribute 14 percent to the GDP of the country. This is a step that will also help in plugging loopholes in tax collection at federal level and boost government revenues.

Investments made by China in the flagship China-Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) projects have the potential to earn fortunes for Pakistan. The estimated investment in CPEC projects is more than \$60 billion which include energy, infrastructure, special economic zones, cultural and technology exchange centres and establishment of new universities. This is a singular opportunity for Pakistan to generate employment, build its infrastructure, cement trade ties with regional partners and boost its economic growth. As some commentators have suggested that trade with Central Asia would increase manifold if Pakistan takes accurate policy decisions to increase its manufacturing footprint and export value-added goods to the neighbouring countries. This is a great opportunity for the country to work earnestly and join the club of developed countries.

Social safety nets are inevitable in an economy where government is the main driver of economic activities. Lately, federal and provincial government have joined hands to launch several social safety programmes comprising job opportunities, low interest rate credit and housing loans so that deserving people can start their own businesses, get employment and build their own houses. State Bank has also chipped in and devised broad and friendly rules which stipulate local banks to lend at low rates for the purpose of housing and small business start-ups. Most of these social safety nets have been launched under the Ehsaas umbrella and the Benazir Income Support programme with the objective to increase the participation of youth and gradually phase out cash handouts. These programmes contain skill enhancement trainings and placement in industry. Meanwhile, the federal government for a brief period also gave concessions and tax credits to companies for employing fresh graduates.

Participation of women in the development of any country cannot be overemphasized. Pakistan in recent years has tried to incentivize the participation and role of women in different areas of significance. Nevertheless, the participation of women in jobs, employment, businesses, etc. is far from satisfactory. Cultural and social barriers are well entrenched in Pakistan's largely conservative society wherein women participation is often discouraged. On gender disparity and equal opportunity score, the performance of the country is anything but satisfactory. There are more out of school female children than male. The gender divide becomes all the more pronounced if rural and urban divisions are considered. The fact that more than 60 percent of the country's population still lives in rural areas where resources and services are scant, speaks volumes about the abysmal record of Pakistani state to look after a major segment of its population. Matters related to education of women, their literacy rates and the need to cater to their fundamental rights remain largely unaddressed. Pakistan can achieve the status of a developed nation only after it takes concrete steps to empower its women.

Successive governments have given various concessions to the information technology, manufacturing and agriculture sectors. The federal government has amended income tax and sales tax laws to facilitate manufacturers by giving them tax credits, initial allowance and accelerated depreciation. Many investments made in agriculture farming and other related activities have been exempted from taxation. This facilitation from the government is needed to support small and medium businesses to grow. Pakistan needs to support its industry through regular policy interventions so that it becomes competitive and performs as per standards set by the international community.

Pakistan's public institutions catering to social, economic and political needs of the country are highly centralized, un-symbolic and rotting in colonial era inertia. There is an urgent need to initiate reform process which can sustain the last vestiges of mammoth state institutions crumbling under their own weight. Political reforms should be introduced with the idea of free and fair elections, an independent Election Commission of Pakistan, regular update on party funding, inter and intra party election monitoring and delimiting of electoral jurisdictions. Economic reforms should focus on increasing ease of doing business, reduction of multiple stage taxation, better access to credit, integration of financial markets through use of automation and digitization, and less reliance on imports. Institutional reforms should focus on devolution, deregulation and decentralization of power, decision-making and financial independence. The goal should be that reform process is not an end in itself but it is better governance that would be an end in itself.

Nowhere does financial discipline and collection of taxes require more urgency than in a state which is continuously faltering on its tax collection targets. Pakistan confronts grave issues in collection of federal and

provincial taxes. Currently, after 18th Amendment to the constitution, the federation collects taxes on behalf of the provinces and is responsible for sharing the provincial cuts as per NFC award and the development of different projects across the federating units. This exercise has overburdened the federal tax bureaucracy which has been constantly missing on tax collection targets. Need of the hour is to forge public-private partnerships to ease doing business in the country and boost tax collection through voluntary compliance of financial laws enacted by the federal government. Without a sound relationship between the government and private sector, tax collection would suffer. The provincial and federal governments can consult regional trade bodies, export houses and facilitate them in the redressal of their tax related matters.

Taxation system of Pakistan is based on regressive indirect taxes, levies and duties based on consumption of goods and services. Nowhere in the world a taxation system can create harmony in the society and economy if it is based on indirect taxation. There are different federal and provincial taxes on the income and assets of the individuals which are overlapping and lead to over taxation and ambiguity. The tax net is very narrow and many people get away with paying little to no taxes at all in a cash-based economy. Direct taxes which are levied on income of the companies, individuals and corporations are progressive since they increase or decrease respectively with the income and guarantee distribution of wealth and income in a society. Pakistan like other capitalist societies has relied heavily on indirect taxation and has miserably failed to collect adequate direct taxes — which ensure distribution of wealth in the economy. Developed nations have easy taxation models with fewer overlapping and heavy reliance on direct taxes. In order to collect more revenues for a rapidly growing population and economy, it needs to improve its tax collection and tax bureaucracy. It also needs to earn the respect and trust of the citizenry in the process of tax collection so that people who pay their fair share of taxes can expect services from the state.

Pakistan's goal to achieve the status of a developed nation is strewn with obstacles and troubles. It needs sincere dedication to address core issues which have been preventing its flight toward development. It needs to focus on reducing its rapid population growth rate and work diligently to improve its health indicators and literacy rate in all federating units. Its education system is unenviable, corrupt and poor in delivery. Key sectors of its economy are dependent on imports and it has a narrow manufacturing base. Its governance scorecard is pathetic and there are flagrant violations of rule of law, fundamental rights and lack of women participation. It needs to work on several issues plaguing its economy and performance. A positive attitude, an urge to do and sincerity to appreciate the challenge at hand are need of the hour if it wants to pull itself out of the group of developing countries. Actions in the right direction, bereft of gaining any political mileage would pave the way forward to progress.

## Socio-Economic Impact of Covid-19 Crisis on Pakistan

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Loss inflicted on the economy and social problems have been aggravated
  - (i) Setback to employment in the self-employed and private sectors
  - (ii) Growth has declined in the agriculture sector amid the Covid-19 crisis
  - (iii) Uncontrolled population growth has made Covid-19 mitigation an arduous and uphill battle
- (c) Global outbreak of Covid-19 and likely setback to the economy
- (d) Social protection and distancing implemented to minimize contracting Covid-19 and lockdowns
- (e) Impact of Covid-19 on working population and loss of employment
- (f) Pakistan's efforts to contain Covid-19 during the first and second waves
  - (i) Damage control measures taken by the government to minimize the impact of Covid-19
  - (ii) Job loss across different segments of the population and impact on GDP
  - (iii) Differential impact of Covid-19 on different sectors of the economy and labour force engaged in them
  - (iv) Federal and provincial government efforts to control Covid-19 through an economic relief package
  - (v) Pakistan Bureau of Statistics survey highlighting areas where intervention could be made
  - (vi) Food security aggravated by the Covid-19 invited immediate attention of the State
  - (vii) Impact of Covid-19 on different economic classes and economic assistance received by them
  - (viii) Impact of Covid-19 destruction across the four provinces and households affected
- (g) Destruction caused in the health sector of the country by the Covid-19 crisis
- (h) Containment efforts by government and how fruitful were they?
  - (i) Unstable economic recovery and trend made it difficult to tackle the Covid-19 challenge and recovery process and poked a significant dent in the economy
  - (ii) Announcement of lockdowns and closing of different sectors of the economy
  - (iii) Decline in economic activities due to lockdowns and business closures
- (i) Government stimulus package to grant relief and initiate recovery of economic sectors
  - (i) Political consensus and participation to make combined efforts to defeat the Covid-19 pandemic
  - (ii) Role played by SBP to contain the Covid-19 crisis and inject capital into businesses to keep them afloat and viable
- (j) Conclusion

### ESSAY

Pakistan has been facing a flurry of existential challenges since the global Covid-19 pandemic started spreading in the country in the early months of 2020 after its origin in Wuhan, China. Its social, economic and political activities came to a grinding halt for a brief period of time when lockdown was imposed across the country in the first instant. Already the country was reeling from the tough conditions imposed by an IMF stabilization plan which had reduced the economic recovery inertia. Ripples of disturbance were sent across various sectors of the economy, healthcare, education, travel and transport, etc. The country, initially during the first wave of the Covid-19, experienced staggering decline in employment, income, health and well-being. Realising the enormity of the challenge imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic, the federal and provincial governments kick-started a plethora of initiatives which could address the deteriorating crisis situation. This cooperation centred on several keynotes by experts from different fields so that the ravages of the Covid-19 could be mitigated and its spread minimized. In a course of few months, meticulous actions and calibrated response enabled the governments at federal and provincial levels to recoup the lost ground. Growth replaced

decline; and the country performed brilliantly in the face of teething challenges and its success exceeded beyond expectations and predictions made by various international financial institutions.

Employment in the private sector and self-employed categories faced a major setback due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The contribution of agriculture and manufacturing sectors in Pakistan's economy is 18 and 19 percent, respectively. The primacy of employment opportunities available to the manufacturing and agriculture sectors is not lost despite their low share in the GDP. Both sectors form the backbone of Pakistan's economy as they are labour intensive. Agriculture sector consumes nearly 59 percent of the total labour force available across all sectors of the economy and majority of it is either self-employed or works informally. Since private sector has a small footprint in the agriculture economy, it suffered less job cuts as compared to the labour employed in private manufacturing industry. Major setback has been suffered by the labour engaged in the manufacturing sector as more than 70 percent workforce has been affected either due to lockdowns, decline in business or fall in demand of goods produced.

The agriculture sector saw a modest growth in the first year of the Covid-19 pandemic and posted 3.31 percent growth whereas it grew by 2.7 percent in the second year of the pandemic. Some economists are of the view that the slight decline in growth in the agriculture sector could have been avoided if the government support in the form of farm credit and loans were adequately and timely utilized by this sector. Some blame should be shared with the food value chains since people went for panic buying which led to ghastly prospects of hoarding or inflated prices.

Unbridled population expansion has exacerbated the prospects of leashing the destruction caused by the Covid-19 pandemic. Health, education, nutrition, parental and child health care have been seriously affected in the wake of the ongoing pandemic. Approximately 64 percent population of the country resides in rural areas whereas rest of the 34 percent in the urban areas. Low rate of Covid testing in the rural areas, low literacy prevalence and lack of awareness among the rural population has made Covid-19 control an insurmountable task. Surprisingly, despite lack of implementation of Covid-19 in large swathes of rural areas, the contact rate in these areas is far less as compared to the urban areas. Still there should be no room for complacency since pressing issues such as maternal and child health care could be ignored and infectious and contagious disease could further batter domestically available health infrastructure. Therefore, no chances can be taken by sleeping over the implementation of Covid-19 damage control and reduction.

The World Health Organization declared the outbreak of Covid-19 a Public Health Emergency of International Concern on January 30, 2020, and a pandemic on March 11, 2020. By that time the effects of the pandemic had started to emerge. Predictions were made that it could be the worst global crisis since the Second World War. Global financial institutions cautioned slowdown of the economy, decline in foreign direct investment and suspension of domestic and international travel. It was predicted that global and country level GDP (gross domestic product) would likely be affected between 2.3 percent to 4.8 percent. Soon partial, smart and complete lockdowns were announced by the countries worldwide to contain the spread of Covid-19 infectiousness. Restrictions were announced in various forms and wearing masks in public spaces and following social distancing were made mandatory. Labour mobility came under severe restrictions since in many areas inter and intra city travel bans were put in place.

A grave warning was made by the United Nations to the countries mostly affected by the Covid-19 crisis to minimize contact between individuals, enforce social distancing, make mask wearing mandatory and avert overburdening of their health infrastructures. Separate isolation wards and health facilities were suggested so that extra space could be spared for the patients infected with the Covid-19 virus. In this way, concrete efforts were suggested to prevent neglect of individual health care. Different sectors of the economy could face job losses and income losses due to the Covid-19 pandemic. It has been estimated by the ILO, that global job losses could exceed 25 million and workers income loss could be around \$3.4 trillion. As per a report by the ILO the U.S. is expecting a job loss more than 3 million in the labour market. Income losses in the developing countries have been estimated to exceed \$220 billion by the UNDP. As economic activities come to a grinding halt there is considerable fear that poverty would increase globally. World Bank has rung alarm bells over the impending worst recession in South Asia in 40 years.

Pakistan's working population has borne a heavy toll on its fledgling economy due to the Covid-19 pandemic. It has been estimated by a survey conducted by the Pakistan Bureau of Statistics (PBS) that around 160 million people falling in the age bracket of 10 years and above have been impacted by the pandemic. Surprisingly, 35 percent of the working population totalling 55.74 million were engaged in the economy before

the onset of the pandemic. This raises an interesting question: few sincere efforts have been made to tap the economic potential of available working population. The other interesting feature of an untapped working population is their skill level and the responsibility of the state to provide at least universal primary education. Without attaining universal literacy the state cannot attain promising prospects for a burgeoning population.

Keeping in view the work-output of the country's working population, it is not difficult to imagine that any pandemic of the scale of Covid-19 would upend the development process in the country. According to the PBS the ravages of first wave of Covid-19 during the period April-20 to July-20 were more pronounced and distressing for large segments of the population. It has been estimated that during the first wave of Covid-19 beginning from April 2020 to July 2020 more than 27.31 million out of the 55.74 million working population was affected by the Covid-19 pandemic. Further investigation showed that 20.06 million people were vulnerable to job loss or they could not get any work due to lockdowns whereas 6.7 million people reported a decrease in their income. The country is now faced with a raging fifth wave of Covid-19 variant Omicron. Clearly, it shows that it has been the private sector which has borne the major brunt of the corona pandemic. A great majority of out of work workers roughly estimated at 74 percent were engaged in the informal sector of the economy. In the agriculture sector, only 3 percent workers were affected by the pandemic. However, 19 percent of regular paid employee with fixed wage, 30 percent of the normal own account non-agriculture worker, 2 percent employers, 2 percent non-family apprentice, 15 percent paid worker by piece rate or work performed, and 29 percent of the casual paid employee were adversely affected by the corona virus pandemic. The country is now faced with a raging fifth wave of Covid-19 variant Omicron which though less deadly is highly transmissible.

Economy of Pakistan saw a robust management drive in the wake of the Covid-19 crisis. The three main sectors of the economy, namely agriculture, services and manufacturing initially during the final quarter April-July of 2019-20 experienced decline. Workers and employers faced the harsh wrath of reduction in demand due to restriction in movement imposed by the lockdowns. Industries and business across the three sectors of the economy witnessed loss in employment and decrease in income. As per the survey conducted by PBS, 20 percent workers in the construction, 26 percent in the manufacturing, 17 percent in the transport and storage; 16 percent in wholesale and retail trade, 11 percent in community, social, and personal services, 5 percent in agriculture, forestry, hunting and fishing industries have been affected by the pandemic.

Incidence of job losses or decrease in income has been quite varied across different segments of the population engaged in different sectors of the economy. Services sector comprises retail sales, whole sales, health services, education services, restaurant and hospitality services, transport and travel services and banking services, etc. A large chunk of workforce engaged in the services sector reported that 59 percent of them engaged in the shops, market retail and sales have been affected by the pandemic. Reportedly, 45 percent of the working population in the service sector became jobless and 14 percent saw decrease in their income. In the manufacturing sector, 72 percent were affected, 57 percent reported jobless status and 15 percent said that their incomes had declined. In the informal sector which includes daily wagers and contract workers, 56 percent said that they were affected by the corona crisis, whereas 42 percent became jobless, and 14 percent saw a decline in their incomes. In the category of 'others', 35 percent reported that they were affected, 25 percent reported joblessness, and 11 percent said their incomes had reduced. The least affected sector was the skilled agriculture sector which saw 5 percent job loss and only 4 percent reported decrease in income.

The workforce employed in different sectors of the economy has been differentially affected by the Covid-19 crisis. The construction sector saw 80 percent of its workforce face job loss or no access to work and 70 percent decline in its income. The manufacturing sector recorded 72 percent of its workforce face job loss or no access to work and 58 percent decline in its income. The transport sector recorded 67 percent of its workforce face job loss or no access to work and 65 percent decline in its income. The wholesale and retail sector recorded 63 percent of its workforce face job loss or no access to work and 52 percent decline in its income. The mining and quarrying sector recorded 38 percent of its workforce face job loss or no access to income. The social and personal services sector and others sectors recorded 36 and 18 percent of its workforce face job loss or no access to work and 24 percent decline in their income.

The devastation wreaked by the Covid-19 during the last quarter of the financial year 2019-20 in the economic, social and political spheres made it patently obvious that without a significant government support no recovery could be possible. The federal government announced a comprehensive stimulus package of Rs.1.2 trillion which would support different sectors of the economy and provide financial support to the

people who had lost their jobs. Meanwhile, the State Bank of Pakistan came up with a flurry of new reforms and concessional relief packages to support the manufacturing industry, employers and capital markets to prevent further slide of the economy.

The survey conducted by the PBS showed that approximately 10.56 million people — roughly 33 percent of the affected household — received assistance from the government, other private donors and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Government announced Rs.12,000 monetary assistance to affected households which forms 19 percent of the total assistance received. Private donors contributed Rs.20,904 is assistance which is roughly 12.5 percent of the total assistance, whereas NGOs and others contributed Rs.27,458 to the assistance and this assistance roughly formed 2 percent of the total assistance made.

The combined efforts of federal and provincial governments paved the way towards recovery of the economy in the period from August 2020 to November 2020. At the outset of the Covid-19 pandemic during the period March 2020 to July, 2020, as per PBS survey 20.6 million people were adversely affected and faced job losses or couldn't find any work. In the manufacturing sector, 58 percent people were affected in the first wave occurring from March 2020 to July 2020. By the mid of November 2020, 53 percent people had recovered their jobs and only 5 percent couldn't recover their jobs. In the construction sector, 59 percent people were affected in the first wave occurring from March 2020 to July 2020. By the mid of November 2020, 54 percent people had recovered their jobs and only 5 percent couldn't recover their jobs. In the transport and storage sector, 55 percent people were affected in the first wave occurring from March 2020 to July 2020. By the mid of November 2020, 49 percent people had recovered their jobs and only 7 percent couldn't recover their jobs. In the whole sales and retail sector, 44 percent people were affected in the first wave occurring from March 2020 to July 2020. By the mid of November 2020, 41 percent people had recovered their jobs and only 3 percent couldn't recover their jobs. In the mining and quarrying sector, 31 percent people were affected in the first wave occurring from March 2020 to July 2020. By the mid of November 2020, all 31 percent people had recovered their jobs. In the community, social and personal services sector, 27 percent people were affected in the first wave occurring from March 2020 to July 2020. By the mid of November 2020, 24 percent people had recovered their jobs and only 3 percent couldn't recover their jobs.

Food security became an intimidating challenge during the Covid-19 crisis since more than 20.3 percent of the population is still living below the poverty line and predictions were made that an additional 11 percent population could slip below the poverty line. Coupled with food security there are serious concerns that poverty and hunger could become rife as food chains started breaking down. However, due to timely intervention of the provincial government authorities against hoarding and profiteering, breakdown of food chains was averted. This valuable step resulted in 60 percent households reporting that they had access to food; 30 percent households reported moderate food insecurity and difficulty to obtain food and were forced to compromise on the quality and quantity of the food. However, 10 percent of the population reported critical food insecurity as they ran out of food and had no food to eat for days. On the provincial level, 27 percent households in the KPK province reported moderate and 5 percent reported severe food insecurity. In Punjab, 29 percent households reported moderate food insecurity and 10 percent reported severe insecurity. In Balochistan—the poorest province of the country, 26 percent households reported moderate and 13 percent reported severe food insecurity. In Sindh, 40 percent of the households reported moderate and 12 percent reported severe food insecurity.

Pakistan has a low-income generating population in which major stream of income earned falls in the low-income bracket. The country doesn't boast a vibrant middle class which could have acted as a buffer in the wake of the dreadful Covid-19 crisis. Various low-income households adopted coping strategies to mitigate the impact of job loss or decline in income. As reported in the PBS survey, 54 percent households went for reduction in non-food expenses such as health, clothing, travelling, etc.; 50 percent households switched to lower quality or quantity of food, 47 percent households used their savings or they sold their property, 30 percent households contracted loans from relatives and friends, 12 percent households acquired loans and delayed their payments; and 8 percent households discontinued the education of their children. These coping strategies adopted by different households may seem full of brute compromise, but it could be the best response in the wake of a daunting crisis which sent the entire financial system of the country into a recession for short duration.

Low-average income of different households had a pernicious effect on the survival in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic in Pakistan. Considering the fact that income by different households differs on the basis of

rural-urban divide, an urgent need was felt to give financial assistance to families whose income was below the base minimum wage. Several suggestions were sought from civil society and charitable organisations to provide valuable assistance on their own accord or in collaboration with the federal and provincial governments.

The destruction caused by the Covid-19 across the four provinces has been disproportionate keeping in view their population. Sindh had the most reported cases of Covid-19, Punjab stood at second number, KPK stood at third number, Islamabad despite being smaller than many districts showed a high prevalence rate and stood at fourth number, whereas AJK and Balochistan stood at fifth position and least cases were detected in the Gilgit-Baltistan region which had the least Covid cases. It has been estimated that income of more than 17.07 million households across the four provinces has been affected which is a staggering 53 percent affected household income out of the total household income in the country. The income divide between the rural and urban areas is even starker since incomes of 49 percent of the rural households and 57 percent of the urban households have been affected. As per the survey conducted by the PBS, 64 percent in KPK, 59 percent in Punjab, 51 percent in Balochistan and 49 percent households reported a decline in their incomes. This phenomenon leads to two important inferences. First, the assumption that Covid-19 has battered urban areas more than rural seems true doesn't hold true since testing services are sparsely located in the rural areas. Secondly, the provinces such as Punjab and Balochistan which contributed to labour or already had a high poverty prevalence rate of Covid-19 were the most affected in terms of household income losses meaning thereby that they had a higher prevalence rate in both urban and rural areas.

Pakistan's health sector is impoverished, overburdened, and inefficient and smacks of malfeasance. Initially, it seemed a herculean task for the already battered provincial healthcare to handle the vagaries of the Covid-19 crisis. Health facilities across the country came under severe stress since they now had to create extra space for the treatment of patients infected with Covid-19 virus and maintain all protocols of isolation and social distancing. Many people avoided using health facilities due to various reasons: 29 percent people reported that they felt lesser need to use any health facility since they were staying at home; 7 percent people cited loss of employment and their inability to meet health expenditure; 5 percent reported lack of means or unavailability of masks and protective gear in their areas; 52 percent reported fear of contracting corona virus if they visited hospital; 19 percent cited they could not afford any hospital expenses; 12 percent reported lack of transport and travelling restrictions; 13 percent reported closure of health facilities in their areas; 28 percent reported lockdown restrictions which made travelling difficult.

Health facilities especially in the public sphere saw a huge influx of patients both suffering from Covid-19 as well as from other ailments. Those people who used health facilities during the Covid-19 period made the following observations about the treatment meted out: 6 percent reported that no OPD facility was available; 17 percent reported that due to fear of contracting coronavirus they were not properly treated by the hospital staff; 3 percent people cited long queues, 14 percent cited difficulty in making arrangement for transport to gain access to health facilities; 3 percent people cited that vaccine was not available at the centre; 7 percent people cited shortage of medicine at health facilities, 4 percent people who visited public medical facilities reported that staff was not cooperative, and 5 percent people cited that there was no availability of health service in their area.

Containment of the spread of Covid-19 became a prime concern for the federal and provincial governments in the initial period starting March 2020 to July 2020 since the health system was not capable to handle the deluge of people infected. Federal and provincial governments started media campaigns, posted banners across important major thoroughfares and contacted cellular companies to send messages regarding social distancing, making wearing of masks mandatory and advised handwashing to prevent the spread through inhalation or use of currency. Meanwhile, the federal government rolled out vaccination programmes and coordinated with health departments of provinces to vaccinate people against coronavirus. It needs to be realized that radical changes have occurred due to the Covid-19 pandemic across the country and globally.

Pakistan's economic growth trend has never been stable for the last two decades. It experienced bouts of growth and sharp decline after a brief stint of growth. Part of the problem lay in a complex cocktail of import-led growth, subsidized industrialization and artificially low dollar price. Every growth pattern led to increase in fiscal imbalances, current account deficits and a blooming balance of payments crisis which forced the country toward an IMF borrowing programme. The country was already reeling under the pressure of a full-blown IMF stabilization plan starting July 2019 with high interest rates, higher energy tariffs, fuel adjustment charges, and an all-time dollar exchange rate when the Covid-19 crisis struck the country.



The large-scale manufacturing sector suffered fatally during the first year of Covid-19 crisis starting March 2020 to July 2020 and decreased by 5.1 percent. However, it recouped its growth in the second year of the pandemic in financial year 2020-21 and posted a handsome growth of 9 percent. Exports had grown by only 2.2 percent in the first year of Covid-19 during the financial year 2019-20. However, they grew by 7.1 percent during the financial year 2020-21. Similarly, imports declined by 14.5 percent in the first year of Covid-19 during the financial year 2019-20. However, they grew by 13.6 percent during the financial year 2020-21.

The crisis paved the way for the federal and provincial governments to exercise damage control by announcing lockdowns across various parts of the country. Consequently, the economy saw a decrease in production in the first year of Covid-19 during the period March 2020 to June 2020. The imports were recorded at \$37.3 billion, exports at \$25.2 billion despite a delay in the orders and the trade deficit was reduced to \$17.6 billion. The federal government took various steps to inject growth and prevent the economy from entering a recession by announcing a package for the construction industry, a Rs.1.2 trillion package for emergency, public relief and business facilitation. State Bank of Pakistan made its own contribution by offering loans and took several other concessionary steps to improve the business climate. It lowered borrowing interest rate to lend businesses precious capital and boost demand in the economy and generate employment. The economy started showing signs of recovery during the first quarter of financial year 2020-21. During the financial year 2020-21 imports reached \$42.3 billion, exports were recorded at \$24.3 billion and the trade deficit swelled to \$21.3 billion. However, there was a record increase in remittances which were recorded at \$26.2 billion during the financial year 2020-21 and gave the policymakers much needed breathing space and the ugly prospects of a negative current account deficit were averted. Instead, the current account posted a surplus of \$0.8 billion during the financial year 2020-21. Pakistan's GDP had decreased by 0.38 percent in the financial year 2019-20. IMF had predicted that the country would be unable to post a growth rate beyond 2.2 percent in the financial year 2020-21. However, by beating the odds, careful planning, and responsive steps led to a growth rate of 3.8 percent in the financial year 2020-21.

Lockdown led to decline in several economic activities which led to jobless workers; and small business suffered from severe income losses. Slowdown of economy resulted in a decline both at the supply side and consequently leading to fall in aggregate demand as well. Both monetary and fiscal policy response were needed to mitigate this economic fallout and to support economic system as a whole. The government undertook immediate measures as soon as the threats of pandemic became evident. The need of the hour was a fiscal stimulus to boost economic growth and avert any recession. The goal was a speedy response while remaining economically flexible and being prepared for adjustments.

A landmark fiscal stimulus package was announced by the federal government to provide immediate relief to the economy, business and prevent unemployment. On March 24, 2020, the Prime Minister Imran Khan announced a fiscal stimulus package of Rs 1.24 trillion (around \$8 billion) for emergency response, relief to citizens, and support to businesses and economy. This historic relief package was subsequently supplemented by a package for construction sector with the aim to boost business activity to generate employment. For emergency health response, Rs.75 billion was made available for procurement of medical supplies, equipment, incentives to medical workers and provision of quarantine facilities. In addition, the federal government established an Rs.100 billion emergency fund to cater for any eventuality. Taxes were also waived on import of related medical supplies. Withholding taxes and customs duties were waived on certain food items and reduced on food items supplied through Utility Stores Corporation. As projections were made that the pandemic would result in increased unemployment due to either closure of businesses or reduced business activity, Rs.200 billion were earmarked for daily wage workers and employees who lost their jobs. A registration portal was developed to screen laid off workers and employees. In addition, Rs.12,000 was distributed to around 12 million families all over Pakistan through Ehsaas programme. For this purpose, Rs.50 billion (Rs.144 billion for Ehsaas Emergency Cash Program and Rs.6 billion for Panahgahs) was provided.

As unemployment and poverty increased due to the pandemic, the government provided a support package to lower the prices of essential food items available through utility stores. Everyday consumable items were made available at a much cheaper rate than in the markets. In order to support low-income families, the government announced relief in payment of electricity and gas bills. All low-income electricity and gas consumers were allowed to pay their bills after three months. Rs.100 billion had been earmarked for this purpose. In order to provide relief to general public, prices of petrol were reduced. The price reduction was made part of an ongoing policy initiative under which the government would continue to pass on reduction in international oil prices to the general public since Rs.70 billion had been provided for this purpose. In order to

facilitate farmers, the government announced immediate procurement of wheat at prescribed support prices and allocated Rs.280 billion for this purpose.

Exporters in the country faced financial issues due to tax-refund claims. The government released Rs.20 billion against duty drawback of taxes and drawback of local taxes and levies to exporters. In addition, Rs.70 billion of tax refunds through Federal Board of Revenue was cleared. For small and medium-sized businesses and industries, which were expected to be most hit by the pandemic, the government announced a package in the last week of April 2020 that included payment of electricity bills. Small businesses having a commercial connection of less than five kilowatt and industrial consumers less than 70 kilowatts could benefit from the initiative, under which the government would pay electricity bills for the months of May, June and, July. Besides, some 3.5 million people running small businesses i.e. tailor shops, small markets, and industrial units would take advantage of this initiative. Rs.100 billion had been allocated for this purpose.

A Multi Party Conference highlighted challenges for monetary policy due to disruption of economic activity. Policy rate was reduced further 100 basis points to 8 percent. Besides this other relief packages were announced by SBP as well. In order to support sustainable economic growth especially in the backdrop of challenges being faced by the industry in post-pandemic scenario, SBP issued "Temporary Economic Refinance Facility" (TERF). All sectors except power sector could avail financing under this facility at a concessionary rate of 7 percent p.a. up to 10 years. Financing could be availed for purchase of new imported and locally manufactured plant and machinery with maximum loan limit of Rs. 5 billion per project.

SBP launched a Refinance Facility for Combating COVID-19 (RFCC) for hospitals and medical centres to develop their capacity for the treatment of infected patients of COVID 19. All hospitals and medical centres registered with respective provincial/federal agencies/commissions engaged in controlling and eradication of COVID-19 would be eligible to avail up to Rs.500 million financing under the facility. Facility will be available at a concessionary rate of 3 percent per annum for 5 years including grace period of up to 6 months. This facility could be used for purchase of imported and locally manufactured medical equipment and creation of isolation wards.

SBP also launched temporary Refinance Scheme for payment of wages and salaries to the workers and employees of the business concerns. Concessional loans at 5 percent per annum were available to finance 3 months of wages, i.e. April to June 2020. Loan tenor would be 2 years including six months grace period. The banks had been asked to give preference to businesses that are labour intensive and affected by coronavirus.

Regulatory measures in the wake of Covid-19 pandemic were introduced by the SBP. Given the pivotal role of financial sector in providing services to the general public and particularly the businesses, SBP after consultation with stakeholders instructed banks to take specific measures to provide their services seamlessly taking due care of reducing the risk exposure amid coronavirus. These measures aimed at reducing the need for visiting bank branches or the ATMs and promoted use of Digital Payment Services such as internet banking, mobile phone banking, etc. These measures included waiving charges for online fund transfers, efficient clearing of cheques, and strengthening cyber resilience of financial institutions.

The fissures in the governance, economic, social and political milieus have been laid threadbare. Although Pakistan's policy to contain Covid-19 has been hailed as successful by the UN, still there are key areas where disparities need to be bridged so that the impact of the crisis should not be borne by the down-trodden and poverty stricken. Pakistan employed judicious use of technology to help patients in tracking the availability of beds in hospitals nearby. Sampling of the population and positivity rate prevalence was updated on regular basis so that restrictions could be put in place to lower down the cases in any vicinity. This aspect should be looked from this perspective that technological resources could have been better utilized or they still need a better use so that the growth of the virus could be flattened. The Covid-19 exposed the prevalent digital divide between different socio-economic segments of the country; lack of access to investment in clean and cost-effective energy; connectivity at social, economic and financial level among developing and developed countries; lack of work from home facilities available to different small and medium enterprises; marginalization of women and their poor access to jobs.

# Is Pakistan a Failed State?

## OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Objectives for the creation of Pakistan
  - (i) A separate homeland for Muslim population of South Asia
  - (ii) An effort to avoid Hindu persecution of Muslims, attack on their religion and freedom to follow their unique life
  - (iii) A desire to avert the fate of being a minority in a united India
  - (iv) A desire to become part of the Muslim Ummah and achieve pan-Islamism
  - (v) Desire to become a peace-loving nation and advocate for the rights of Muslims across the world
  - (vi) An effort to make the country a welfare state which caters to the need of the population without any distinction
- (c) Why Pakistan is not a failed state?
  - (i) The country has achieved many milestones and is ready to achieve more
  - (ii) Alleviation of poverty has been a successful story
  - (iii) Health indicators have increased with state-of-the-art facilities in many areas
  - (iv) Literacy rate has been increased from 8 percent to 59 percent
  - (v) Significant industrialization has been achieved and GDP of the country has increased
  - (vi) Pakistan has achieved significant political and constitutional development in the past years
  - (vii) Democratic institutions have evolved amid stints of martial laws
  - (viii) Judicial system in embryonic stage and poorly developed but has developed in recent years and is not shorn of taking daring decisions
  - (ix) Pakistan is not a failed state since it has not stopped making progress
  - (x) Pakistan is all set to make progress and significant gains
- (d) Conclusion

## ESSAY

Over the years many questions have been asked from outside and within Pakistan raising concerns about its status as a failed state since it has not been able to deliver on the objectives and principles on which it was founded. Several objections have been raised against its failed economic, social and educational policies which have not spun the wheel of fortune in its favour. There have been scathing remarks on its inane efforts to rally state institutions to achieve accountability, a harmonious working relationship between various public institutions and inculcate a deep-rooted culture of democracy. The relationship between its civil and military institutions has remained frayed for much of history with the balance of power and convenience lying in favour of the military establishment. There have been indicting allegations of failure of the state to control population, eradicate poverty, improve literacy rate, make adequate security arrangements and avoid the scourge of terrorism. These pertinent points need consideration, but often it is ignored that the country has come a long way in the journey since its independence from colonial British India. Any comparison of the past with the present would tellingly suggest that there has been miraculous growth and development keeping in view the unique circumstances and nature of extractive institutions the state inherited. The country after its independence developed incrementally and as the old adage befittingly describes that Rome was not built in a day holds true for it.

Muslims of united British India raised the slogan for a separate homeland owing to a deep yearning and realization of their unique identity. The cultural and religious differences had made it clear to them that survival within a Hindu-majority India would be a toilsome and terrible drag on their plight in communal India. In essence, hindsight suggests that the decision made was prudent and the sacrifice worthwhile.

Considering the charge that Pakistan is a failed state, it needs to be reckoned that it has not failed in the objective to serve its founding purpose. It was envisaged that Muslims of India were a nation and they had to unite, shed differences of caste and creed and carve out a new state for a shared destiny.

Persecution of Muslims under a Hindu dominated Indian rule was always a fear that loomed large over the heads of a minority Muslim population. The apprehension that special incentives were not available to Muslims and eventually in the end it would leave them out of the competition against Hindus started to rear its ugly head once Hindu participation in different walks of life increased disproportionately as compared to Muslims. Hindus captured jobs, opportunities and gained influence in the corridor of powers. The cultural and religious differences often led to skirmishes and clashes between the two religious communities. The Congress Ministries formed in 1935 smacked of a parochial Hindu mindset to impose their unique brand of religion on Muslims. Therefore, demand for a separate homeland became intense. Interestingly, the plight of Muslims in India is far worse than those in Pakistan and Bangladesh despite their larger size in India. In a way, the allegation that the Pakistani state has failed to achieve the objective for a separate homeland for the Muslims of Pakistan doesn't hold true.

Being a minority in a system that lacks adequate constitutional guarantees and safeguards had always carried dangerous prospects for the Muslims of British India. The Quaid-e-Azam presented their 14 points in order to present special demands for the Muslims of British India so that they didn't remain marginalized and had adequate representation in the constitutional growth of the country. However, future events inspired little confidence in the Hindu-Muslim constitutional confluence and made it clear that the two communities had divergent and unbridgeable differences. The rise of Hindutva and Modi inspired fascism in the last decade has made it amply clear that the goal set for a separate Muslim homeland for Muslims was thoroughly grounded in reason.

The Muslims of united British India had always been vocal in supporting Muslims cause elsewhere in the world. During the First World War, they raised their concerns and apprised the British government about their desire to respect the integrity of Turkey. In a sense, the Muslims in India had a vision of nationhood and a desire to remain part of the Muslim Ummah. The fact of the matter is that Muslims of India wanted a separate homeland for themselves and achieve pan-Islamism through a concerted effort to bring Muslims under the umbrella of Islam. After achieving Independence from Britain, Pakistan remained an active member of the international Muslim community. It has always reached out to all Muslim countries to develop cordial relations and to extend mutual help in need of hour.

Sincere efforts have always been made by Pakistan at all international forums to demonstrate its eagerness and genuine desire to help in the preservation of world peace. Pakistan is a peace-loving nation and it has never waged aggression across its borders or against any of its neighbours. It has been a vocal advocate of upholding the rights of Muslims across the world. It has been a keen observer and participant of the Organisation of Islamic cooperation (OIC) and the United Nations (UN). At the outset, the Muslims of colonial British India made it clear that the demand for a separate country sprang from a candid urge to uphold peace and be a responsible country in the world. Pakistan's efforts have been recognized at the global level as peacekeeping and loving country. It has fought three wars with India and they have been in self-defence. In this way, it has demonstrated to the world that it is not a failed state. It recognises the importance of peace and acts only in self-defence and honours the territorial integrities of all countries. It has invoked UN resolutions for the settlement of border, maritime and territorial disputes with India and China.

The war on terror has inflicted an unprecedented toll on the stability, peace and security of the population of Pakistan. More than a hundred thousand precious lives have been laid down by security personnel and ordinary people in the fight against terrorism. Despite all the loss inflicted as a result of precious lives lost, the drought resulting from capital and investment flight, and the precarious security situation, Pakistan has been successful in controlling and diminishing the scourge of terrorism. It has made an unequivocal declaration that it won't allow terrorism and would uproot it. Its efforts have been commended by international agencies and they have reposed trust in Pakistan to be a willing partner to vouch for peace and ensure a world free of terrorism. This speaks volumes about the performance of the state in order to avert the allegation of a failed state.

A renowned statesman once said, "I am inspired by the imagination of the future than the glory of the past." This rings true in the case of the Muslims of colonial India who did cherish a glorious past but wanted to carve out a separate homeland for the Muslims of India. The ideals of a separate homeland in their mind rested on a society based on social justice equitable access to economic opportunities, elimination of poverty and security of life and property. The Quaid-e-Azam was clear about the objectives and responsibilities of the state

toward its citizens. Religious freedom, rule of law, and participation of the masses in the democratic process were some of the ideals on which the country was founded. Initially, the country achieved great success. But with the passage of time the state started dithering on its pledge to become a welfare state.

Pakistan may not have been able to spawn rule of law, governance and economic development. However, failure to achieve a perfect model of governance in the face of teething problems doesn't mean that the state has failed. The indictment that the country is a failed state would have some iota of truth to it if the state had stopped making any progress. But this is not the case in Pakistan. The country has made great strides toward economic growth, infrastructure development and distribution of wealth and resources among the population.

The population of Pakistan is around 219 million people making it the fifth most populous country in the world. It is a gargantuan task to cater to the needs of such a large population especially for a developing state like Pakistan. It is worthwhile to mention that there are no binaries or absolutes in the development paradigm. Countries either progress or decline. A large population poses a significant challenge to the growth of the country. There are myriad trappings linked with a population that suffers from malnutrition, pathetic health delivery services and poor education infrastructure. This could seem true in certain areas where the state has shown wanton ignorance of the pressing issues concerning people. But it also seems a little bit exaggerated since with such paltry revenue collection, weak enforcement mechanisms, there are still avenues and areas where the state is delivering its people.

The poverty in the country at the time of independence was more than 80 percent. Over the years despite possessing meagre resources, the country has courageously overcome earthquakes, floods and waves of terrorism. The earthquake in 2005 severely jolted the country and leading to more than 60,000 deaths and successive floods in 2010 and 2011 swept more than one-third of the country causing more than 2000 deaths. Despite these daunting troubles, the country decreased extreme poverty from 48 percent at the start of the 2000s to 23 percent in 2021. Various social safety programmes with the help of public and private partnerships sprang up which helped alleviate and reduce the incidence of poverty.

Urbanisation in the country has been increasing at a stellar rate for the last two decades. Presently, 36 percent of the population lives in urban centres whereas 64 percent lives in rural areas. At the time of independence, more than 85 percent of the population lived in rural areas. If the length of metalled roads and highways is considered today as compared to the past then there has been a phenomenal growth in real terms. This is by no means a small feat that has been accomplished in the span of 74 years. The urban heartlands today boast of sprawling cities and the provision of highly developed transport, health, education and banking services. There are export chambers in major cities, Chambers of Commerce located in provincial capitals and large trade associations.

Development experts have frequently opined that urbanisation is the testament of growth and development in a country. Services, manufacturing, capital markets and revenue streams converge in the urban centres and the state takes benefit of this convergence by collecting revenues to run its affairs. Special economic zones are often strategically placed along highways and thoroughfares so that the shipping of goods to urban and rural areas can be effectively made. In the last couple of years, several special economic zones and industrial estates have sprouted across urban and peri-urban areas of the country to tap the use of labour migrating to these areas.

Shortage of housing has been a grave concern for successive governments. It cannot be denied that the state has faltered on this count to provide affordable housing to middle and lower tiers of the economic class. Nevertheless, the vacuum left by the state has been filled by costly private housing schemes which have attracted private investment and a massive flow of capital in this sector. Arguably, it may seem that the state has altogether abandoned its goals and left people at the altar of avaricious market forces. However, the state can achieve success in this area by earning more revenue from these private housing schemes and then proceed further to spend it on the welfare of marginalized segments of the population. This is a silver lining that needs identification in the wake of this moral crisis. It can't be construed as a total failure on part of the state.

A large population entails huge spending on health-related issues. In the case of the state of Pakistan, the majority of the diseases afflicting a major chunk of the population can be prevented if the state delivers potable drinking water, reduce sewage pollution and provide adequate housing to its population. Ironically, throughout Pakistan's history, the fatality rate as a result of communicable diseases is much higher than genetic and other non-communicable diseases. The state has gone astray on delivering sustainable and adequate health facilities at the preventive primary stage. Health facilities at primary, secondary and tertiary

stages in the country are far from satisfactory. They suffer more from poor governance, leakage of funds, lack of accountability and bureaucratic hurdles than from underfunding and poor share of resources. Despite all the hullabaloo over the failure of the state to make amends for failing health infrastructure, Pakistan's health care system is cheap, subsidized and still cheap as compared to the private sector health facilities. In statistical terms, the doctor to patient ratio and the availability of beds per 1000 of the population may not have increased drastically, but it did increase directly since upon increase in population there was a matching increase in health care facilities.

At the time of independence, Pakistan had few prestigious public universities, colleges and schools. Over the years there has been a voluminous increase in the education sector. Collaboration with international agencies and provincial education departments has helped in increasing the literacy rate of the country. Although the literacy rate is disproportionate across the four federating units; with Punjab, Sindh, KPK and Balochistan ranked in order of higher literacy rate; the performance of the state is dismal on this score. Considering the number of out of school children at a whopping 23 million and a more pronounced gender disparity gap in terms of male and female students, it seems though that the state has failed miserably. But without losing it all to despondency, Pakistan boasts some prestigious seats of learning and a vibrant private education sector. The efforts of the state to improve education and literacy rates cannot be discredited since it has been providing these facilities at a very low cost and enabling access of students to schools located in far-flung areas. Special public-private models have been devised to help create a sustainable, quality learning schooling model for primary education classes.

The economic growth of Pakistan has increased manifold after the 2000s owing to a large investment in the real estate sector and consumption related industry. The country after its independence moved at a snail pace to industrialise its economy. There was a time when the pace of development was rapid but some skewed policies leading to the nationalization of the industry put breaks on the growth of the innovative industry in the country. At present, Pakistan has industries related to cement, beverage, sugar, process, fertilizer, chemicals, plastics, etc. which is fairly developed and employs a significant share of the labour force. The construction industry has many allied industries such as steel, aluminium, glass, cement, wood, paint, ceramics, marble stone and electric appliances, etc. which are fairly developed and employ a large chunk of the semi-skilled and skilled labour force. During the Covid-19 pandemic, when several manufacturing and services industries went into a lockdown, economic growth became sluggish, at that moment construction industry was used as an engine of generating growth.

Some critics often contend that the share of industry in economic growth is decreasing on a year-on-year basis and its contribution in the economic growth of the country is less than that of the services sector. But here the critics miss a key point that developed countries use a mix of industrial growth and integrated services sector to achieve harmonious growth. This is precisely what Pakistan has been planning to follow. Another score on which critics often cite poor performance is the lack of the state to become an engine of innovation. Pakistan relies heavily on imported industrial machinery and most testing, commissioning and performance analytics are performed by foreign companies which take their share of earning in the form of royalties earned. It needs to be appreciated that a culture of research, inquisition and innovation took more than 400 years to develop before the start of the industrial revolution in England and continental Europe. Pakistan is slowly moving toward the path of setting up its own indigenous manufacturing place and using technology transfer to gain quickly on this ground.

The country faced the grave challenge of political development from the onset of partition. All India Muslim League was a party of feudal lords who had sided with Jinnah in his quest for a separate homeland for Muslims of the Indian subcontinent. Although in the run-up to the 1946 elections, All India Muslim League had gained significant support in Muslim-dominated areas, yet its roots had not been firmly entrenched in the masses. Meanwhile, working committees of the Indian Congress had contracted and mobilized people at the grassroots levels. It made a significant difference between the political awareness of the Congress voters and League voters who could, in turn, woo others to follow them. It became glaringly clear after partition that the mass contact campaign of the Muslim League had subsided after the partition and work for political development lost its steam. It soon turned out that old oligarchs who had stood for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India were in no mood to delegate powers to different political players and empower political institutions.

A trend toward centralization of power could be seen from the initial days of Pakistan. However, its seeds were sown in the British colonial era when an overbearing centre tried to control provincial and municipal governments and their functions. The British colonial set-up in different colonies transferred power

to colonial subjects through a series of reform steps. In the case of India, a brief stint of responsible government was introduced through the enactment of Minto-Morley reforms in 1919 and afterwards through the provincial elections which were held in 1935. The provincial ministries of the Indian Congress that came into existence in 1935 governed for only four years and didn't impart a working experience to the local masses.

Lack of experience and a legion of problems made political and constitutional development a grave challenge for the nascent state. Political problems stemmed from the urge for centralization of politics and the absence of democratic norms within the political parties. One-upmanship made decision making highly-centralized and vitiated the democratic process. It just became almost a trend that democratically elected regimes shunned provincial autonomy and local governments. They tried to have a consolidated grip on district and local power once they were elected by running the show through the executives. In a way, the elected rulers perpetuated their rule through the use of bureaucracy and the local political elite. On the contrary, when military rulers usurped power, they tried to break the strangleholds of domestic politicians and the political elite by bringing a locally elected political dispensation. Ayub, Yahya Khan, Zia-ul-Haq and Musharraf brought their self-styled local governments to introduce the third tier of governance at the grassroots. While the merits and service delivery of these governance models is arguable, they certainly performed the function of empowering people at the grassroots to participate in the politics of their areas and work for their own development.

Political development in different countries has not been a comfortable ride. Many a nascent state has experienced political turmoil and upheaval due to competing interests and high stakes during its initial years. Pakistan was also no stranger to different controversies that stemmed from the recognition of Bengali as a national language, scope of religion and nature of constitution in the nascent state. At the time of partition minorities comprised around 23 percent of the population of the country. Any legislation to create a new constitution for the country had to seriously consider the role of minorities and their rights.

The obstinacy and lack of trust shown by the central government to transfer power to the federating units resulted in many problems for the nascent state. The state successfully weathered political and constitutional turbulence and promulgated a new constitution in 1973. If an honest appraisal of the state's political and constitutional development is made then there exists cautioned appreciation since the state remained under military rule for more than 40 years. It was during the military rule that non-partisan and non-party based elections were held but they were not helpful in political development and entrenchment of a well-founded democratic process. Elections after military rule were often made controversial due to allegations of horse-trading, vote buying and rigging. Circumstances have changed in the last two decades since the state has seen the continuity of the political process and democratic governments have successfully completed their constitutional term. The successful enactment of the 18th Amendment to the constitution whereby the powers of the federating units were transferred back to them and provincial autonomy was ushered in became a landmark event in the political and constitutional progress of the country. Moreover, the powers of the president to dismiss the government and send National Assembly packing were also taken away. It was a mature political and constitutional arrangement between the federal and provincial governments so that they could act as responsible units of the state.

Progress in the field of political and constitutional development is indeed remarkable given the fact that democracy requires continuity and accountability to deliver governance. A notable scholar once said that "Democracy is a system of government which ensures that we shall be governed no better than we deserve. It is the worst form of political system but it is the only preferable system of governance."

Over the years Judiciary as an organ of state has evolved at different tiers in an unprecedented manner. The lower tiers of judiciary include courts which are heavily burdened; there are issues of infrastructure, staff and number of cases per judge. The shortage of officers and staff in the judiciary creates an undesired bottleneck in the dispensation of justice. There also exists the issue of training and refresher courses for officers of the judiciary. Some reforms have been introduced in recent years to incentivize pay packages, streamline promotions, reduce cases per judge, and establish alternate dispute resolution forums to decrease litigation.

Presently, the issue of delivery of affordable justice without delay is the chief concern of the judicial organ. The middle and superior tiers of the judiciary have proposed several reforms to reduce the burden and prompt disposal of cases within the specified timelines. Issuance of stayed proceedings, frustrating inertia and impartiality of the judicial process are being discussed at length to reduce litigation and award rulings in a timely manner as per law. The exercise of judicial functions in the appellate provincial High Courts and Supreme Court is independent of any influence and it is courageous. Several landmark decisions have given

breathing space to the marginalized segments of society. The Supreme Court of the state has been instrumental in upholding fundamental rights, women empowerment and minority rights. The judicial organ has seen the accumulation of more influence in public and private spheres and a fearless urge to dispense justice.

It has often been argued that seven decades is just a small period in the life of nations and nation building requires a long period, consistent development and continuity. It is often presumed that in order to achieve progress in different fields patience needs to be coupled with sound policymaking. In the case of Pakistan, it would be fair to acknowledge that precious little has been achieved during the last 74 years. However, much has remained unfulfilled and unaccomplished. Some political scientists think that the argument against the paucity of time to achieve progress is simply a lame excuse since different nations have achieved progress in different time spans. Some nations achieved socio-political and economic progress in a matter of decades, whereas others achieved it in a period of more than a century. It turns out that various factors are at work when progress, development and growth are studied.

Of late, information technology has revolutionized the entire planet and Pakistan is also making tremendous efforts to take maximum benefit of this opportunity. Political scientists in Pakistan have predicted that it is the age of change and gain for the state. Pakistan is at the cusp of using information technology, digital social platforms and a vibrant banking system to make rapid progress as globalization is taking firm roots in international communications. Pakistan has been increasing its digital footprint, manufacturing low-end technology equipment and has been providing quality IT services globally. Integration with the global milieu could usher change for good in a rapid manner for Pakistan. The question for the state of Pakistan is that if technology changes, would it affect a change in socio-politico norms at the same pace or not? Ironically, nations change bit by bit in response to cultural and economic changes. It is an old adage that young habits die hard. It is easy to change some parts of behaviour with the help of technology but difficult to change the entire behaviour. Human development is a life-long socialization process that evolves in different development stages. It responds in predictable as well as unpredictable ways to different triggers and stimuli. Pakistan may be slow in making progress but it has not become an utter failure to overcome its myriad problems.

Pakistan has come a long way in 74 years of its nationhood. By any stretch of imagination, it has performed decently on various fronts keeping in view the daunting challenges faced by it at its birth. It still falls in the category of developing nations which have a large population to cater and address a number of issues to climb the bandwagon of developed countries. It started as a poor nation with more than half of the population living below the poverty line. Per capita income at the time of independence was \$100. Literacy rate was less than 10 percent for the entire nation. The fledgling nation was cash and resources trapped. It was immediately swept by an unprecedented historical wave of migration which saw more than 16 million people displaced from their households. It weathered numerous political storms, experienced dismemberment of one-half of its population, underwent four spells of military rule, fought national disasters and gallantly fought against the tide of terrorism and radicalism. It made numerous attempts to transform the society and fate of its people. It took steps to develop social, economic and political institutions to meticulously work the details of statecraft. It underwent bouts of high annual economic growth and then faltered with periods of deafening economic depression. It tried earnestly to eradicate poverty, improve infrastructure, literacy and health indicators. It has made efforts to empower the media, judiciary and parliament. It is a peace-loving, nuclear-armed state that wants to keep cordial social and economic relations with the world and its neighbours. It is an active and responsible member of several international organisations. It still has a lot of responsibilities to fulfil and a long way to realise the objectives and ideals of its founding fathers.

# Revamping Pakistan's Education System

## OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Issues in Pakistan's education system
  - (i) Enrolment
  - (ii) Universal Primary Education
  - (iii) Gender disparity removal
  - (iv) Removal of Rural versus Urban gap in education
  - (v) The existing infrastructure is not being properly utilized in several parts of the country
  - (vi) There are various challenges that include expertise, institutional and capacity issues, forging national cohesion, uniform standards for textbook development, and quality assurance
  - (vii) Out of school challenges include shortage of schools, distance – especially for females, insecurity, poverty, cultural norms, parents are reluctant or parents lack awareness
- (c) Learning outcomes need to be improved so that students can participate in an interactive environment
- (d) Change in the outdated syllabus and end of rote learning so that emphasis is on understanding instead of gaining the system
- (e) Poor examination system doesn't foster a culture of enquiry and analysis
- (f) Implementation of SNC could help ease some trouble of the State to achieve a harmonious education system
- (g) Capacity building of teachers to help them be at par with modern knowledge and research
- (h) Opportunities for different streams of education such as vocational, religious schools
- (i) Higher education and contribution toward research and development
- (j) Bureaucratic hurdles need to be removed which would transform the process of accountability, funds generation, and probe expenditure
- (k) Teacher absenteeism and poor capacity with little emphasis on the quality of knowledge imparted
- (l) Deregulation and decentralisation and close coordination between the centre and provincial education bureaucracies
- (m) Investment in infrastructure of dilapidated schools
- (n) Corruption, nepotism and malfeasance without any framework of accountability
- (o) Removal of barriers to equitable access to education
- (p) Provision of internet access and digital classrooms
- (q) Bridging over the digital divide
- (r) Suggestions for improving the education system of Pakistan

## ESSAY

The education system of any country defines the direction it will follow to achieve progress or decline in its future course of events. Many a country has made phenomenal progress by investing heavily in its education system. Pakistan's education system is performing abysmally for the last four decades due to a number of reasons. Myriad problems haunt the education system of the country comprising low enrolment rates at primary schools, gender disparity in girls versus boys' education, outdated curriculum, contentious single national curriculum, archaic pedagogy to teach modern knowledge, lack of research and analysis at the higher education level. Apart from the usual suspects with which the education sector has to grapple, there are other pressing issues such as administrative oversight, accountability of teachers and school administration on multiple counts, over-centralization of the sector and lack of funding for building infrastructure and equipping it with modern facilities. Pakistan needs to adopt a holistic approach to resolve these issues so that it can impart quality education to its population. The size of a large population and the effort required to solve it

sincerely is the need of the hour. Several policy interventions are needed which can kick start the reform and rejuvenation process of the education sector.

It is mandated by the Constitution of Pakistan to provide free and compulsory education to all children between the ages of 5-16 years and enhance adult literacy. With the passage of 18th constitutional amendment, the concurrent list which comprised 47 subjects was abolished and these subjects, including education, were transferred to federating units as a move to achieve provincial autonomy. The country's first elections under 18th Amendment, passed in 2010, were held in 2013. Provided by the 18th Amendment, the responsibility to impart education was devolved to the provinces. Almost all the major parties have got an opportunity to be part of the government at the federal or provincial level since 2008. It is time for successive political parties who held on to the reins of power to fulfil their commitment to enhance the cause of education according to their manifestos. A traditional effort will not be sufficient to respond to the gigantic challenges that our education system faces today. Rather some extraordinary steps will be needed to ameliorate the wretched situation of education in the country. It is encouraging to see some provincial governments declare an education emergency. It is hoped that this would not be similar to the kind of education emergency declared by the previous government that never produced any results.

The problem of addressing issues related to education in Pakistan was a tad bit neglected before the passage of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution in 2010. An overbearing central government had been looking after the provincial subject of education along with the input and help of the provincial bureaucracy. This arrangement was marketed to be helpful for the education sector since it kept the federation apprised about the performance of the provincial government institutions and helped the federal and provincial governments establish liaison between the international donor agencies. After the passage of 18th Amendment, the role of the education sector has been transferred to the federating units as their sole responsibility and the role of the federal government has been restricted to issue some policy guidelines and share some information or initiative. This may seem perfectly feasible in terms of its constitutional appreciation; however, it has absolved the State of its role to solve pressing and contentious issues related to the education sector. Divisive issues of teaching regional language and the divergent views on which regional language to teach given the fact that Pakistan's provinces have diverse ethnicities speaking multiple languages popped up for wide debate. In another instance, the matter of different curriculums across different provinces came under discussion. The federal government was adamant that curriculums of the federating units should have commonalities and a uniform standard of reading material. However, the provinces objected to the oversight by the federal government on the plea that all matters related to the education sector fell squarely in the provincial domain and the centre had no role in it. Disagreement between the federal and provincial governments on this issue may be legally sustainable but is practically disastrous. Both the federal government and provinces have to work out differences and make a beeline toward the solutions so that matters of urgency can be quickly resolved.

The provincial education bureaucracies are excessive and suffer from many administrative and human resource-related issues. The administrative issues result from over-centralization at the provincial capital level. Policymaking initiatives are undertaken at the provincial level instead of devolving responsibilities and functions to the district and tehsil level functionaries. This arrangement creates a lack of ownership and confusion as the local administration doesn't have the wherewithal and funds to support policies divorced from any existing ground realities. At this stage, often requests for more staff, oversight of teacher performance, availability of school infrastructure and facilities and performance audit gauging absenteeism, participation of parents, awareness-raising activities and high content teaching need active supervision and monitoring.

Education departments of the provinces are among the largest departments and take whopping budgetary contributions. The combined education budget of the federating units in the country is more than Rs.750 billion and is next in line with the defence budget. It seems ironic that such a large amount of provincial contribution is not adequate to resolve the issues bedeviling the education system of the country. A large share of the budgetary allocations goes into paying the salaries of employees and their pensions. No comprehensive report has delineated effective utilization of the funds allocated for teacher training, improvement in learning outcomes, increase in attendance, provision of free meals, the addition made to school facilities and the resultant increase in literacy rate for boys and girls. This state of affairs suggests that there could be massive wastage of official funds and a lack of accountability. An often-ignored aspect is the involvement of international donor agencies which often identify areas where special policy intervention is required. The leakages in funds, misappropriation and wrong classification of expenses are pressing problems that have not been addressed.

Administrative oversight and accountability to improve governance in the education department are pivotal for achieving effective results. District governments should be entrusted with the responsibility to monitor functions and a separate independent wing for feedback oversight should be formed. Performance reviews should be made compulsory with monthly, quarterly and annual reviews. No centralized policymaking should take place. Instead, district and provincial secretariat should collaborate to achieve harmonious policymaking interventions.

Human resource employed in the education sector of the provincial governments is employed after a rigorous screening process. The salaries offered are based on educational credentials and the promotion criteria are based on inter se seniority and merit. There is a fixed track for promotion and an increase in salary on annual basis. If a comparison is made with the private education sector, then the earning package of government employees in the education sector is better than low and middle-income tier private schools. But this high salary status is not matched by the corresponding difference in a skillset that exists between the public education stream and the low and middle-level private schools. Most if not all middle-income tier schools are better in terms of teacher training, quality and performance than public schools. The performance of public schools is no match to the high standard elite private schools. The quality of books, teaching resources, interaction among teachers and students in elite private schools is based on high standards. The argument that government teachers don't perform well since they have poor salary packages doesn't hold water. At the heart of the poor performance of teachers in public sector education is a lack of genuine urge to improve learning outcomes. The inertia of lack of delivery and absence of accountability has helped government teachers abscond from their responsibilities.

The recruitment process of teachers is often not based on merit. Several instances have shown that appointments to the education sector have been made in violation of merit and political favouritism has been exercised. Successive governments have been unable to weed out political appointees in the education departments. Education departments are highly resourced in terms of human resources; therefore, their services are often employed in facilitating the election process in the country. Therefore, at times political parties try to appoint more and more teachers so that they can influence the election process. The practice does not only defame the profession of teaching it also affects the quality of education. Hence, if the respective governments are serious about improving the condition of education in Pakistan, they need to reduce the negative influence of political parties and individuals in the education sector. An effective recruitment system needs to be established to appoint teachers according to merit. The practice of involving teachers in elections needs to be reviewed to keep them away from negative politics.

Universal primary education in Pakistan will remain a pipe dream as long as an inclusive education model catering to girls' and boys' education is not implemented. Major factors that hinder enrolment rates of girls include poverty, cultural constraints, illiteracy of parents and parental concerns about the safety and mobility of their daughters. Society's emphasis on girls' modesty, protection and early marriages may limit the family's willingness to send them to school. Enrolment of rural girls is 45 percent lower than that of urban girls; while for boys the difference is 10 percent only, showing that the gender gap is an important factor when it comes to girls being educated in rural and urban areas. The economic cost of education is higher in private schools, but these are located in richer settlements only. The paradox is that private schools are better but not everywhere and government schools ensure equitable access but do not provide quality education. This leads to the dichotomy that girls' education in a restricted social and cultural environment is not encouraged since the outcome of this learning enterprise holds no promise.

Different streams of textbook curriculums applicable in different provinces have diluted the quality of education standards. Although no statistical data can be quoted that could suggest which one of these different textbook curricula is better, when compared with the private school curricula, contents, quality of printing and pricing are quite different. Lately, the federal government undertook the task of revamping the education sector of the country. Several reform agenda items were discussed which broached different areas of concern. Initially, it was envisaged to modernize the entire public education system but due to several financial and functional constraints, the plan to reform the entire education system was held in abeyance. Additionally, the provinces objected to the spearheading of the project by the federal government declaring that it didn't fall in its domain as per the constitution. Thereafter, the federal government launched an effort to chalk out a single national curriculum that is based on modern and up to date knowledge that will be adopted by all public and private institutions.

Considerable consternation exists between the federal and provincial governments, civil society and private schools over the implementation of a single national curriculum (SNC). Concerns have been raised over the contentious nature of contents of various subjects. The first objection by the private schools against the SNC is that it would compromise the quality of their books and teaching. Some objections have been raised over the inclusion of religious chapters in Social Studies and Islamiat. Critics are of the view that the SNC is tantamount to repeating the errors of Islamisation of Zia era (1977-1988) gulped forcefully under the throats of Pakistani people. This seems to be a dangerous prospect to introduce religious content to gullible minds when the rhetoric for extremism and terrorism is already on the rise in society. Some proponents of SNC have opined that it should not be discredited in totality. The SNC plans to integrate madrassah education stream into the main education system would give them an overview of scientific knowledge and enable them to become productive members of society. It had been propounded that SNC might be the only opportunity that is available to the madrassah students to catch up with the students enrolled in the traditional public and private education systems. A large majority of seminary students in madaris hail from a poor financial background.

The contents of textbooks and teaching materials are abysmal, lacking in authenticity and accuracy which raises doubt over their capacity to impart knowledge to students. Most of the material is outdated or out of context. Additionally, sometimes the textbook contains things that promote social/religious segregation and inequalities. Therefore, the textbook needs to be reviewed through different perspectives such as relevance, gender equality, social/religious balance, etc. SNC has been advocated as a means to achieve equality between disparate income classes by giving them access to quality books and a reformed education and examination system. However, it remains to be seen whether any equality can be achieved through SNC since equality only in terms of a curriculum cannot be extrapolated to other diverse areas such as access to better teaching methodology, books and extra-curricular activities. The multiplicity of different systems of learning are leading to social imbalance, bifurcating the people into divisive social and economic classes. The students from the elite class follow the "O" and "A" levels curriculum instead of Pakistan's routine orthodox and stagnant curriculum. They have little or no awareness of their religion and culture whereas those passing out from Urdu medium schools are usually destined to work in clerical and lower-level positions. Religious madaris, another class that is usually unaware of the world outside their perception.

SNC is being adopted piecemeal by many private and public institutions in KPK, Punjab and Balochistan. The issue of the availability of SNC textbooks has not been resolved yet. Similarly, many private schools have got their existing books approved by provincial textbook boards to align them with the SNC objectives. The only province which has not implemented any streak of SNC is the Sindh province. A qualitative argument needs to be evaluated whether the SNC is a means to an end of eradicating all that is wrong in the education system or it is an end in itself. Since the SNC is still in the implementation stage, therefore, it cannot be predicted as a game-changer for the entire education system.

The education system in Pakistan is divorced from the culture of inquisition, enquiry and research. The focus on the factual aspects of knowledge and rote learning forced students towards opting for unfair means in examinations. Therefore, the examination system needs to be reviewed and improved on a priority basis. Emphasis is on rote learning and a blind spree to score more marks without inculcating a spirit of understanding among the students. Students score almost perfectly without having a sound understanding of the research, analysis and investigation required to develop strong reasoning skills. Resultantly, despite scoring high, they may not be eager to make inquiries and adopt experimentation. This attitude in learning exists in all tiers of primary, secondary and higher seats of public educational institutes. This is precisely the area where attention and concentration are required to make students skilled, sound and expert in their respective fields of study. The reform process in this area will ruffle several feathers and disturb several monopolies who don't want to break the status quo and are providing cooked strategies to achieve marks and ace examinations. Regular up-gradation of course books, open-book questions and high content books would help in resolving issues of mental capacity development in the field of education.

The Covid-19 pandemic exposed various fault lines that exist in the socio-economic order of Pakistan's society and brutally exposed the glaring class divide in the education sector. Most middle-and high-income private education institutes opted for the e-learning modules and switched over to online classes to continue their academic activities unhindered. Whereas, public schools couldn't opt for the hybrid online learning model due to affordability of online software, provision of access to internet facilities and failed to cater to the need for laptops and tablets in schools located in remote areas. Teaching activities during the academic year at public schools and colleges remained suspended during the Covid-19 pandemic since most students couldn't

afford to pay for internet and tablets. Some public schools opened the academic year on alternate days to reduce the contact of coronavirus. The Covid-19 educational crisis led to the realization that income inequalities could lead to inequality in learning and accessing opportunities.

New models of learning have become ubiquitous and fashionable as the digital revolution has swept major fields of communication and information exchange. In today's world, several social platforms such as YouTube, Facebook and Instagram have been flooded with information and knowledge. YouTube and several other online platforms such as Khan Academy and Podcasts run by prestigious universities, writers and educationists contain a sea of information and videos that can be used to facilitate learning. Almost anything can be learnt since education has become almost free and it is detached from the old school of traditional learning models and patterns. Eager learners can now access quality learning material and access knowledge for free through the use of online learning platforms. There is now no impediment in the way of enriching learning and personal capacity building. Pakistan has to realign its learning systems and methodology so that it can take the benefit of innumerable learning sources available for free. There is now no excuse available to teachers or students for failing to access new frontiers of knowledge. The federal and provincial governments can stimulate learning through these channels by providing students with subsidized laptops and internet or broadband connections. Opportunities can be provided through the use of information technology to create a level playing field for students of Pakistan located in remote areas.

Higher education in Pakistan has now been devolved to provincial governments after the 18th Amendment to the constitution. During the initial years starting 2000s, the Higher Education Commission (HEC) was formed to produce more doctorate students in the country who could do research in prestigious universities of the world, and eventually come back to Pakistan and apply their knowledge. The plan rolled out by HEC suffered from several hiccups since many scholars on their return couldn't find the facilities in their own country which could facilitate their research. Some of the performance metrics which relied on churning out more and more research papers with a specific focus on the number of citations proved counterproductive. The quality of the research papers was compromised in a spree for more citations. Soon new metrics and performance indicators were introduced. Lack of research opportunities, poor laboratory facilities and improper supervision led to desperation and despondency which drove out many scholars and led to brain drain.

Technical education should be made a part of secondary education. Classes for carpentry, electrical, and other technical education must be included in the curriculum. Unemployment would be reduced as a result of technical and vocational training. It would also make people independent in their survival and in making decisions with calculated risk. It would also pave the way for a skilled technical human resource which can get better access to jobs in human resource importing countries and earn precious foreign exchange for the country.

The hype over SNC may be over after a while when the dust and noise surrounding it is over. The aim of SNC may be a hyperbole to achieve equality but it may help in assimilating and synergizing the efforts of the State to achieve some consensus on how to carve out a collective and progressive future. One key missing area on which SNC has no answer is the drive to drastically improve literacy rates in the country and especially in provinces, districts and tehsils which have low literacy rates and a high gap between boy and girl literacy rates.

There have been several suggestions to improve access to far-flung schools and incentivizing children to attend public schools. Pakistan has a high dropout rate which has cast negatively on its efforts to increase enrolment rates and increase literacy rate. Providing economic incentives to the students may encourage the parents to send their children to school and may help in reducing the dropout ratio. The local government system at the district and tehsil stage helps promote education and literacy in the country. In the local government system, the funds for education would be spent on a need basis by the locality. Corruption and prevailing poor literacy rates in the country. An effective accountability system and inbuilt audit and review monitoring system are needed in education departments.

Since education is a provincial subject, the federal provincial and district education departments need to be strengthened. Special policy planning units should be established in provinces' education departments for the implementation of educational policies and the formulation of new policies whenever needed. The Article 25-A of the Constitution — which has mandated the provision of education by the State as a fundamental right. There is a pressing need for the federal government to play a supportive role vis-à-vis the provinces for the early compliance of the constitutional obligation laid down in Article 25-A. Special grants

can be provided to the provinces where the literacy rate is low. The unemployment of educated men and women is a major concern for Pakistan. There should be career counselling of the students in schools so that they have an understanding of the job market and they can develop their skills accordingly. Counselling parents is required so that they can choose a career for their child which is market friendly.

It is important to realize that the problems which hinder the provision of education are not just due to issues of management by the government but some of them are deeply-rooted in the social and cultural orientation of the people. Overcoming the latter is difficult and would require a change in the attitude of the people, until then universal primary education would remain a pipe dream.

Pakistan's education system is beset with teething problems and requires urgent reforms to revamp it. Progress can only be made through a robust education system that caters to the needs of modern learning paradigms. It seems that Pakistan would not be able to tap the dividends of modern learning methodologies and techniques if it remains stuck to old ways of teaching and outdated governance model in the education sector. It needs to make its education bureaucracy more responsive toward its population. It has to upgrade its school facilities and infrastructure. It can never be classified as a progressive state if it continues with a beleaguered education set-up. E-governance and accountability need to be introduced so that issues of staff management and targets assigned to schools to improve literacy rates in their areas and learning outcomes could be gauged. Special focus should be made on improving education standards across the country. Since digital education has become more accessible due to the low-cost availability of the internet, it is time to switch to new models of education. The issue of teacher training and their capacity development should be addressed on a war footing. Pakistan has a long way to go to improve its education literacy rates and educational standards. The time to act is now.

# Rise of China as a Global Power

## OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Initial difficult phase, strife-torn environment and failed attempts to reach development goals
- (c) Rise of China as a global leader in science, technology, research and economic development
  - (i) Rise of China as one of the largest manufacturers of the world and its position as a global power house of energy and innovation
  - (ii) Despite lifting millions out of poverty there are fears that uneven economic growth in China has caused a widening income gap and reduced the prospects of poverty eradication
  - (iii) There is an emerging slower growth pattern of China's economy due to unplugging reliance placed by different countries on Chinese exports
  - (iv) Investment in research and development and assumption of leadership role by adopting an investment portfolio across different areas of the world
- (d) Challenges against China's rise as a global super power
  - (i) New challenges to China's growth amid changing internal demographic dynamics which could slower its growth rate
  - (ii) Onset of trade war between US and China and new Cold War clouds looming large on global horizon
  - (iii) Economic and political rivalry between the US and China and playing fronts largely confined to economic zones
- (e) Globalization and the new role of China amid trade war and conflict for more in different spheres of competition with the USA
  - (i) Dangers to globalization as China and US confront each other openly and may lead to distortions in global-value chain and supply systems
  - (ii) China's role in global economic development and Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)
  - (iii) China's interest in reducing its carbon emissions and moving towards a clean energy policy
  - (iv) China's role as an arbiter of peace and trading partner addressing resolution of contentious issues among different countries:
  - (v) US president made a new foreign policy pledge to bring more multilateralism to US policy in dealing with a global world
- (f) Dichotomy of US foreign policy pronouncements and containing policy toward China
  - (i) AUKUS deal to corner China and plan for using balancing levers to neutralize China's strategic advance in the South-China Sea
  - (ii) US volte-face on its renouncing on a latest announcement to be world leader and play by realpolitik rules on issues of strategic importance
  - (iii) China's retaliation to US's dubious role in the AUKUS deal condemning the tactics used and expression of serious reservations over a nuclear arms race in the region
  - (iv) QUAD summit between US, India, Japan and Australia to offset the rising power of China has deepened the mistrust between US and China
  - (v) US belligerent approach toward China is rooted in its domestic troubles which it can't wish away
- (g) Conclusion

## ESSAY

China's journey to success took less than 70 years to enable it to emerge from isolation and become one of the world's greatest economic powers. As the country celebrates the anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, it has undergone massive transformation, and has created unprecedented wealth across the Asian giant — though this massive wealth deepened inequality. The large Asian giant was living a pariah life divorced from the hullabaloo of capitalism and bustling economic growth. Self-sufficiency was a

thoroughly ingrained discipline which underscored the initial years of this poverty-ridden communist state. As a matter of fact, there were no trading partners, no diplomatic relationships, and no international presence in key financial institutions. Change set in when a hybrid model of controlled capitalism was introduced and the country thought that it was wise to follow modern capitalistic economic paradigm and opt for the communist social and political control to cater to governance. Over the past 40 years, China has made strides in all imaginable fields. It achieved an economic miracle as it introduced a series of landmark market reforms to open up trade routes and investment flows, ultimately pulling hundreds of millions of people out of poverty, sustained double digit growth and a massive innovation industrial empire.

Chinese growth saw bumpy rides in the initial years of its existence. Low literacy rate, capital drought and tight government control of capital and industry put brakes on the development agenda of the communist state. The country was the most populous among the world countries and a large population lived below the poverty line. No wonder then that the Chinese experimentation with growth and reform policies in 1950s had seen one of the biggest human disasters of the 20th Century. Analysts are of the view "The Great Leap Forward was Mao Zedong's attempt to rapidly industrialise China's peasant economy, but it failed and 10-40 million people died between 1959-1961 — the costliest famine in human history." Thereafter, Mao's efforts couldn't materialize and the Cultural Revolution in 1960 led to economic disruption and ended up destroying much of the country's social fabric.

After Mao's death in 1976, economic and industrial reforms spearheaded by Deng Xiaoping began to reshape the Chinese economy. Farmers and land owners were granted rights to farm their own plots, increasing farm yields, mechanization, improving living standards and easing food shortages. The door was opened to foreign investment as the US and China re-established diplomatic ties in 1979. Eager to take advantage of cheap labour and low rent costs, massive investment poured in from US, Germany, UK and Japan. Through the 1990s, China followed in the steps of Taiwan, South Korea and began to clock rapid growth rates and joining the World Trade Organization in 2001 gave immense impetus to its accelerating economy. Trade barriers and tariffs with other countries were lowered and soon Chinese goods were everywhere.

China slowly and gradually became the powerhouse and largest manufacturer of goods in the world. It built upon the skills of its manpower, opened its economy for investor who could take benefit of cheap labour and carved special economic zones with trade concessions. In 1978, Chinese exports were \$10billion, less than 1 percent of world trade. By 1985, they hit \$25billion and a little under two decades later exports valued \$4.3trillion, making China the world's largest trading nation in goods. The economic reforms, growth and trickle down improved the fortunes of hundreds of millions of Chinese people. The World Bank estimates say more than 850 million people have been lifted out of poverty, and the country is on track to eliminate absolute poverty by 2020. At the same time, education rates have surged and Chinese account for the largest diaspora studying in top-notch US universities. Standard Chartered Bank projects that by 2030, around 27 percent of China's workforce will have a university education — that's about the same as Germany today.

China's economic gains and development have not brought about the inevitable trickle down of economic dividends and prosperity to its people. The fruits of economic success haven't spread evenly across China's population of 1.3 billion people. Although China has seen a massive spike in the number of billionaires, there are plenty of examples of extreme wealth and a rising middle class existing alongside poor rural communities, and a low skilled, ageing workforce. Inequality has deepened, largely along rural and urban divides. The World Bank in a report says, China's income per person is still that of a developing country, and less than one-quarter of the average of advanced economies. China's average annual income is nearly \$10,000, according to DBS, compared to around \$62,000 in the US.

China is now heavily invested in research and development to become a first-rate innovator of technologies. For long, it had grappling fights with the US and other European countries for patent violations and intellectual property theft. It has started its own oil refineries, space missions, medical equipment research and 5G technology giants. Presently, it is the largest investor in African and South American countries and sees its strategic interests fairly entrenched in the key power broker countries of the continent. The Covid-19 pandemic has brought some slowdown in its economy but miraculously despite the origin of the corona-virus in China there was at hand a humongous task to cater to its large population, to isolate and immunize its people. It performed spectacularly and imposed strict quarantine and lockdowns which helped to reduce the spread of the coronavirus.

Some surveys conducted by global think-tanks have predicted that China is shifting to an era of slower growth. Its economy is heavily dependent on exports of goods and finished products. It has made some

attempts at weaning its dependence off exports and toward consumption-led growth. It has been predicted by many international financial organisations that it may bid good-bye to manufacture of low value-added goods and instead focus on highly technologically advanced products and solutions. In this way it is following in the footsteps of US, UK, Japan, Germany, France, etc. who were once the top-notch producers of technologically advanced goods but have slowly moved toward a more service-oriented economy.

New challenges have emerged for China against its predominance of world export markets. Global demand for Chinese goods is on the wane due to trade war with the US and a shift in China's focus on new emerging global power trends. The pressures of demographic shifts — rural to urban migration and development and an ageing population also cloud the country's economic outlook. Nevertheless, even if its rate of growth decreases to between 5 percent and 6 percent, it will still be the most powerful engine of world economic growth. At that economic growth pace, it will still be 35 percent of global growth, which is the biggest single contribution of any country.

The footing for the trade war with China was intensified during the Trump regime as US accused China of intellectual property rights, violations and patent thefts. Moreover, in order to woo American voters and bring jobs back from China, US slapped tariffs, duties and withdrew exemptions granted to Chinese exporters. The issue of trade deficit with China was raised in various policy circles in the US and different policy instruments were used to make Chinese goods, raw materials either uncompetitive, costlier or discourage their usage. Experts have suggested that Trump era did see indigenous growth in the jobs created on American soil. In response to US actions, the Chinese government replied in tit for tat and imposed several new tariffs and duties on US products and raw materials in order to discourage American products. Many analysts addressed the trade war between US and China as harbinger of a new Cold War between the two economic giants after the end of Cold War era between the US and USSR. Since, US policy towards China hasn't changed largely despite a new incumbent in the White House, the omens don't bode well for a decrease in US hostility toward and desire to dominate China.

China has now a GDP of more than \$11 trillion and is set to surpass US GDP of \$18 trillion by 2030 as per estimates by the World Bank. Its investment projects are in all major economic stakeholders of the world. It is in fact the largest trading partner of US in terms of trade and has invested more than \$1.5 trillion in US capital markets. It is a permanent member of the UN Security Council and holds veto power. In the second decade of the 21st century it has become increasingly clear that its economic and political power rivals that of the US. This phenomenal rise in its economic power, clout and ability to leverage influence across international financial institutions, that poses a potentially a serious problem for multinational companies, since its rise could lead to more US-China trade conflict and disruption of supply chains, threatening new and ongoing foreign direct investment, and drawing other countries into the jostling for power.

Doubts and concerns have been expressed over the economic and political confrontation taking place between the US and China. Experts watching over the events unfolding at the global stage are of the view that globalization project is not necessarily endangered by China's emergence as a comparable power to the US. Both China and US have vested interests in maintaining the open economic order, and these two countries are each providing the global public goods that incentivize economic openness among other countries of the world. There is plethora of debate and statistics which support the argument that globalization has not declined even as the global distribution of power has shifted—albeit not solely in favour of any one of these countries are at loggerheads. As is guaranteed by the globalization project, global integration is likely to persist, despite the disruptive skirmishes between the US and China happening with some regularity. Nevertheless, analysts have sounded alarm bells to multinational corporations and global value chain contributors to strategise, and focus more on risk management related to policy shifts stemming from China's rise and less on achieving least-cost global supply chains.

China is also carving out a new front in global economic development through investing in strategic infrastructure projects comprising energy, transportations, port development and communication technology aiming at generating connectivity across the length and breadth of the ancient Silk Route. The country's next chapter in nation-building is via global connectivity integration; which is unfolding through a wave of funding in the massive global infrastructure project, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The so-called new Silk Road aims to connect almost half the world's populations and one-fifth of global GDP, setting up trade and investment links that stretch across the world. The BRI would connect through land and sea routes 72 countries and would invest through soft loans in the energy sectors of those economies, build new transportation routes, sea ports to handle cargo and handle trade with those countries. The project envisages to build upon the capacity of the countries

which are part of the BRI through multilateral projects. The BRI project traverses across various countries located in different continents with the aim to connect to mainland China. It straddles across Pakistan, Oman, UAE, Malaysia, Sri Lanka, Vietnam, Myanmar, Russia, Kazakhstan, Algeria, Strait of Malacca, etc. US has accused China of creating debt-traps by investing in the BRI countries and charging exorbitant rates of interest on the loans extended to build these projects. However, this allegation has been vehemently denied by China and it has been explained by the Chinese government that the projects are aimed at developing economic competition, boost employment and add to economic development of the BRI countries.

Rapid growth in industry, infrastructure and economy over decades; and mass migration into street-lit, centrally heated cities have turned China into a power-hungry nation. Recognizing this hunger and the damage that a long-term reliance on fossil fuels would have, the Chinese government has made plans to address the country's energy needs by investing in renewable energy fields such as battery technologies, photovoltaics and energy management. It is world's most prolific producer of wind energy, with the capacity to make more than twice as much as the second-largest generator, the United States. And it has about one-third of the world's solar-generation capacity. Still, only 23 percent of the energy that China consumes is from 'clean' sources (including natural gas), whereas almost 58 percent was from coal.

China is the world's hungriest consumer of energy worldwide and it is the biggest polluter of atmosphere along with carbon emissions and greenhouse gases — it emits around one-quarter of the world's greenhouse gases, the largest share of any country. Since 2011, it has burnt more coal than all other countries combined. It is the largest consumer of coal-based energy production in the world and has become notorious for relying on this dirty source of power at a time when the world is embracing newer and clean energy producing technologies. It is leading the world in renewable energy production. It is currently the world's largest producer of wind and solar energy, and the largest domestic and outbound investor in renewable energy. It made four of the world's five biggest renewable energy deals through Chinese companies. It owns world's largest solar-module manufacturing companies and it is the world's largest wind turbine manufacturer. It uses a highly skewed mix of coal, thermal, nuclear and other renewable energy resources for generation of energy. Over the years, major Chinese cities have been engulfed in atmospheric pollution and the country has been prodded continuously by international community to reduce its carbon emissions.

Lately, as the meeting of COP26 on climate change convened in Glasgow in the month of October-November 2021, China has renewed its bid to become totally green economy by 2060 phasing out all energy generation through coal and other fossil fuel fired plants. It has also given its commitment to reduce atmospheric pollution and further reduce carbon emissions. It supports the Paris Agreement pledge to contain rise in global temperature beyond 1.5 degree Celsius. It has advocated its position to become a leader in renewable energy production.

China has made prudent use of its rising economic and political power on world stage. It has refrained from fighting proxy wars and indulging directly in the affairs of other countries through military confrontations. In the UN Security Council, it has advocated resolution of outstanding issues between different nation-states as per the dictums of International Law and UN resolutions. It has been helpful in diffusing tensions between Democratic Republic of North Korea and South Korea. Despite the reservations shown by several ASEAN nations over the overt designs of China to establish its ascendancy in the waters, it has not opted for any military solution to the crisis. Instead, on the blandishment of US several countries have mounted their territorial claims over the South China Sea which has been viewed with grave concern by China. Due to inter-related trade, stalemate over strategic competition has been averted. However, the South China Sea still remains a hotspot for competition against multiple claims. In the same vein, during the Afghan reconciliation process, China joined hands with Russia to come toward a negotiated settlement between the Taliban regime and US-backed Kabul government. Despite US sanctions on Iran to cripple its economy, China announced \$200 billion investment in Iran to tap the potential of oil. As remarked by some political observer, the US foreign policy toward the world after the Second World War ended in 1945 is full of hubris whereas that of China after its rise to power is economic engagement with the world countries to serve its national interest.

President Joe Biden of US in an address to the General Assembly of the UN — his first foreign policy statement since US withdrawal from Afghanistan — stated a new era of "relentless diplomacy" by the US. It was categorically stated on that occasion the US was committed to multilateralism which had been ignored by the previous US government. It was declared that US military power would now be an option of last and not



first resort. It was envisaged to allow for international cooperation to meet common challenges and work with allies. It was also highlighted that the US was not seeking a new Cold War or a world divided into rigid blocs.

Foreign policy circles have welcomed some of the overtures made by US in the desire to prevent an open-ended brazen confrontation with China. Without naming any country the US specifically mentioned that it wants to serve its own national interests and its allies without indulging in any confrontation. But the Biden administration's actions seem at odds with many of these kosher words. Both policy towards China and Washington's treatment of allies are inconsistent with these pronouncements. Worth mentioning is what happened in the wake of hasty and pusillanimous US departure from Afghanistan. Prior to the withdrawal deadline, Pentagon and other US think-tanks had predicted at least 90 days that Kabul could withstand an outright onslaught of the Taliban. Meanwhile, while making these predictions nowhere and at no time did US made a mention of tackling the refugee crisis if and when they withdrew. No arrangements were made for any foreseeable evacuation of diplomatic missions, UN and other international organizations.

The loss of face and ascendancy in wake of ignominious Afghan retreat suggested that US would bring some tilt in its foreign policy. The noise and overtures coming out of US policy circles dropped some hints that now serious matters such as climate change, nuclear weapons race, and clash over territorial disputes would be given priority. It was vaguely signalled that US would desist from direct military interventions and avoid proxy wars. However, the opportunity to break from the past habits was lost and US moved swiftly to make good on the promise to pivot to bigger challenges — i.e. China — US went ahead headstrong to forge a new trilateral security pact — a coalition — with the UK and Australia named AUKUS. The self-serving antagonistic coalition's aim is to counter Chinese power in the Asia Pacific region by assisting Australia to build eight nuclear powered submarines equipped with Tomahawk missiles — this deal has been brokered without keeping in view the fact that Australia boasts a large Chinese origin population.

The AUKUS deal between US and its allies may have the illusion to control China for a limited period of time, in essence it could be no better than a spoiler. The immediate diplomatic fallout from the deal was a rift among America's allies. France, which had initially acquired the deal to produce classic submarines, was ditched and which was not kept in the loop and saw Australia abandon its plan to acquire diesel-electric French submarines, reacted furiously. France's foreign minister described it as a "stab in the back". While US tried to woo and placated French sentiment albeit to the extent of a phone call made its President Biden to President Emmanuel Macron. Though it was planned to put China at the back foot in the strategic South China Sea and in the Pacific Ocean, the signal sent to Europe was that the US had ditched them at its own expense and it could act as it wished without taking allies on board. Building a coalition against China by AUKUS opened up cracks in the transatlantic alliance which President Biden had earlier sought to shore up for his anti-China diplomatic strategy. The hastily concluded AUKUS security pact also made many ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) countries nervous since their economies are closely knitted with China's global supply chain.

China categorically condemned the US effort to pitch Australia against a foreseeable Chinese military dominance in the Pacific Ocean. The haste, in which the AUKUS deal was made at the last-minute ditching France and with the stern agenda at enhancing Australia's naval power to challenge China's military ascendancy in the western Pacific, was not appreciated by China. The Chinese foreign ministry accused AUKUS nations of an "outdated zero-sum Cold War mentality". China denounced the move as irresponsible on part of the AUKUS club and said the deal for nuclear armed submarines armed with missiles would undermine regional peace and security and intensify the arms race. Meanwhile this consequential deal was largely ignored by the UN nuclear watchdog IAEA. Most observers have condemned it for flouting laws on nuclear non-proliferation.

New events have suggested that US is not willing to play second fiddle in wake of rise of China to global economic and political power. The desire of US to reign supreme through Pax-Americana and act as a global hegemon seems intact. US hastily organized the Quad meeting — comprising US, Australia, Japan and India — barely following on the heels of AUKUS deal announcement a fortnight before, to fortify an anti-China front among regional states. Originally, the Quadrilateral Security Dialogue was resuscitated by the Trump administration in 2017 with the aim of countering China. But, as many Western analysts pointed out, Quad has now been undercut by AUKUS and lost some of its steam. Moreover, US officials described it as non-military and "informal", hence it meant no materializing of any strategic benefits. The haste with which

US has acted after its Afghan withdrawal — perhaps to shift attention away from that ignominious defeat — involved moves that appeared so haphazard as to leave many allies disconcerted.

Confusion reigned supreme even after the Quad summit was over. The statement issued after the Quad summit committed member countries to a "free and open Indo-Pacific". While it never mentioned China, the meeting — and indeed Quad itself — is focused principally on offsetting China's rising power. Meanwhile, the Chinese foreign ministry spokeswoman responded to the Quad summit by cautioning the US not to engage in "closed and exclusive small circles" while *Global Times* — which reflects China's views — depicted it as an attempt to incite disputes and confrontation in the western Pacific. What both the AUKUS and Quad never have done is to intensify US-China tensions and confirmed to China that a US-led contain-China strategy continues to unfold despite the pronouncement of US that it doesn't want to play the role of a global hegemon bulwark.

Domestic troubles of US presidents have prompted him at adopting a more aggressive stance towards China than expected, as it is on the international front that he has greater room to manoeuvre. But US approach to tame and tackle China is reflecting the political consensus within the US for a tougher posture. For their part, Chinese officials see little to distinguish between Trump and Biden's policies on China. On trade their approach is identical as Trump-era tariffs remain intact. Chinese leaders have repeatedly warned the US against engaging in a Cold War and see the President Biden administration pursuing a strategy of 'confrontational competition'.

China's rise to power has not been uneventful for its presence in the global world and for its own people. It is a story of courage, fortitude and perseverance which has led to 850 million people out of poverty. An industrial giant has come of age and has surpassed all predictions in achieving economic progress and political stability. Its role on international issues of importance has been responsible and calibrated. Meanwhile, as it rose to power it rubbed many shoulders and saw some feathers unruffled. The US views China's rise as a potential competitor and it doesn't want to cede any ground to China. Nonetheless, China's interest lies in ironing out differences with the US and to look for healthy avenues of competition. A realization does exist on part of the Chinese that any prolonged confrontation would be detrimental for its own national interests. The present scenario indicates that more turbulence is to follow as the world's most consequential relationship between two superpowers drifts into uncharted waters.

# Climate Change is a Great Threat at National and International Level

## OUTLINE

- (a) **Introduction**
- (b) Climate change a global, regional and national concern for the entire planet
- (c) Climate change has resulted due to:
  - (i) Burning of fossil fuels and increase in atmospheric pollution
  - (ii) Reliance on cheap energy generation sources which emit carbon dioxide and greenhouse gases
  - (iii) Decrease in the forest cover of the planet (deforestation)
  - (iv) Unbridled industrial development which pollutes the atmosphere
- (d) Effects and implications of Climate change:
  - (i) Erratic rainfall, heatwaves, flooding and irregular weather patterns have the potential to destroy large swathes of land, crops and agriculture
  - (ii) Drought and decrease in plantation could further increase CO<sub>2</sub> emissions
  - (iii) Loss of valuable flora and fauna due to increase in oceanic, atmospheric and land temperatures
  - (iv) Threat to livelihood of ecosystems and natural habitats of plants and animals
  - (v) Flooding of regions and disproportional rainfall patterns could lead to migration, land sliding and temporary displacements
  - (vi) Rise in sea level and loss of coastal land could destroy precious land and forest covers
  - (vii) Food shortages due to changing weather patterns and increase in climate induced migration and refugees
  - (viii) Raging wildfires and hyper-increase in carbon dioxide emissions
- (d) Steps taken at global level to mitigate climate-induced disaster under the auspices of UN
  - (i) Voluntary reductions in carbon emissions to arrest increase in global temperatures
  - (ii) Targets set by developed countries to switch to alternate sources of energy development instead of traditional fossil fuels
  - (iii) Switching to renewable use of resources for clean energy production, economic and social transformation of industrial and technological sectors
  - (iv) Financial assistance to developing countries to invest in clean and renewable energy, financial compensation and more
  - (v) The debate over North-South divide between the developed and developing countries
- (e) Implications of climate change on Pakistan
  - (i) Claim that government policies have drastically reduced carbon emissions may not supported by facts
  - (ii) Loss of agriculture, crop failures, flooding and displacements of large segment of population
  - (iii) Setback to water economy, issues related to water stress, water unpredictability and excessive water wastage and consequent loss of precious resources
  - (iv) Decline in trade activity in the agriculture and industrial sector leading to loss in GDP and development of the country
  - (v) Setback to youth in developing countries and their participation at global level in raising awareness and in their own countries
  - (vi) Town planning and tourism to be adversely affected as changing drought and precipitation wreak havoc and destruction
  - (vii) CPEC energy projects are based on coal and China has announced that it will close all coal-fired plants globally to show it as a commitment that it is firm on its pledge to become carbon neutral

- (f) Steps that should be taken by Pakistan to go green and arrest climate change
  - (i) Use of climate change diplomacy as a key foreign policy plank, leverage potential opportunities through the use of international funds, build partnerships at international organisations to take benefit of technology expertise and economic assistance
  - (ii) Adopt realistic goals to reduce carbon emissions through new policy initiatives for manufacturing industry, transport sector and energy generation sectors
  - (iii) Investment and policymaking should operate in tandem and take care of climate change
  - (iv) Early warning systems and climate services are need of the hour for policymakers to heed
  - (v) Efforts to control the effects of climate change and minimize its impact include
    - No surprise floods
    - Advance preparation for drought and directed focus on crops
    - Hydro climate and Met data support to address the critical issue of food security
    - Data support and sharing science
    - Focus on hydrology and water utilization and storage facilities
    - Special focus on the quality of water provided
    - Plan to mitigate the effects of climate change should cater to sustainable development
- (g) Conclusion

## ESSAY

Climate change has upended the course of normal economic growth, jeopardized environmental sustainability, threatened world weather and precipitation patterns, emboldened temperature increase and ocean rise, and sealed the fate of survival of flora and fauna. Scientists have termed it as the biggest man-made catastrophe after the Second World War since it has endangered the lives and livelihoods of the population on the entire planet. It has pernicious effects on world peace and order given the fact that it has serious consequences for several countries. Wide-ranging awareness campaigns and conferences have been convened to control and tackle it and make amends for the wrong done against the environment and ecosystems. Several plenary meetings at the global and national levels are in process to reduce the impact and mitigate the disaster caused by it. Pakistan is among the few countries which have been adversely affected by it and it stands to lose the economic gains and progress it has made in recent years. The unique geography and environmental issues of Pakistan have made it more vulnerable to the destruction caused by climate change. Pakistan has been making all the necessary vibes to raise awareness about climate change and effect changes in areas of green technology and reduction of carbon emissions on a voluntary basis.

According to climate change experts as temperatures rise, by 2100, 36 percent of the glaciers along the Hindu Kush and Himalayan range will be gone. This will devastate local communities and reduce water supplies across the whole country. According to the International Monetary Fund, Pakistan is the third most water-stressed country in the world. It also has the world's fourth highest water use. Experts say that by 2040, it will be the most water-stressed country in the region. In Karachi, temperatures this year are already the highest in 74 years and by 2030, property damage due to coastal storm surges and rising sea levels is set to increase tenfold.

Climate change is a global and regional issue as its effects are wide-ranging and it is spread over the entire planet. It is not just a change in weather pattern or rise in air temperature or variance in precipitation pattern. It is going to affect crops, water distribution systems, speed up the melting of glaciers and arctic ice, reduce yields, increase the wastage and acidity of the soil, and decrease economic output. Its nightmarish prospects and repercussions are of global nature and no single country can be singled out which has not been spared by its wrath. Economists have stated that progress since the industrial revolution began, has been made at the cost of the atmosphere and environment. Pollution, hazardous gas emissions and generation of radioactive waste have contributed to climate change at the global and national levels. Since most pollution and emissions were made by the now developed countries, therefore, on international forums it has generated a heated debate that developed countries should chip in with maximum reductions in their emissions.

United Nations (UN) and its allied agencies have been working with renowned space and atmospheric research organizations of the world to calculate the damage done by climate change. The issue of climate

change has assumed a global phenomenon after scientific studies have confirmed that man-made changes have changed the climate and the environment around it. The agencies of UN such as the Inter governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) have categorically convened several meetings of world meetings wherein it was first decided to adopt voluntary carbon emissions targets country wise (Koyoto Protocol), and thereafter it was decided to reduce carbon emissions and arrest the rise of global temperature at around 1.5 degree Celsius higher than the pre-industrial levels and not to allow it to go beyond 2 degree Celsius rise. The Paris Agreement also contained accord on mitigation, adaptation and finance so that measurable commitment and steps could be taken to arrest climate change.

The phenomenal growth in economy, industry and ease of travel has contributed to climate change. The major culprits in the emission of carbon dioxide and greenhouse gases — methane, nitrous oxide and synthetic fluorinated gases — which have contributed to climate change, are due to the burning of fossil fuels that have been used to generate energy from coal, diesel, and petrol. Energy production from coal has been designated as the dirty source of energy production and contributes heavily to the emission of carbon dioxide and greenhouse gases. Moreover, the burning of methane and the use of nitrous oxide as a fuel also contribute to the emission of carbon dioxide which in turn gives rise to the greenhouse effect by trapping more heat in the earth's atmosphere and resultantly producing high temperatures. Decrease in forest cover to clear lands for urban and industrial use as fuel and for land development has also given rise to the greenhouse effect since absorption of carbon dioxide gas decreases with a decrease in forest cover. Scientists and economists are of the view that unbridled economic and industrial growth without any qualms to take care of the environment and atmosphere has contributed adversely to the pollution and increase of greenhouse gases.

The contribution of developed countries in aggravating climate change is many a time more than the efforts put up by them to mitigate climate change. The advancement made by the developed countries at the expense of the atmosphere and other developing countries has generated a skewed relationship between developed and developing countries. Factually, the contribution of developing countries in promoting climate change is minuscule as compared to the contribution made by developed countries. It has also been argued that the countries in the Northern hemisphere should shoulder more blame and responsibility to mitigate the climate change disaster and give financial assistance and technology transfers to developing countries and make more commitments to reduce their annual emissions. Since most of the developing countries are located in the Southern hemisphere, and most of them have not made any significant contribution to climate change, therefore, they should be allowed concessions from IPCC, global community and give only voluntary commitments. It has been argued by the developing countries in the Southern hemisphere that commitments to make a reduction in emissions should be made mandatory for the developed countries only. China, the United States, European Union countries, India, Russia and, Brazil, etc. are the largest contributors of carbon dioxide in the world.

There have been wide-ranging effects and implications of climate change on a global scale. Climate change has led to several changes in weather and precipitation patterns. Several areas in the past few years have reported erratic rainfall patterns and unpredicted flooding. In many areas of the world, there have been heat waves, droughts that have potentially destructed agriculture, crops, annual yields, increased pests and disturbed biological ecosystems. Raging wildfires in different areas of the world have destroyed forest cover and contributed more to the rise in temperature. The flooding and irregular weather patterns as a result of the impending climate change have the potential to destroy large portions of land, crops and agriculture. In areas experiencing drought, a decrease in plantations could further increase carbon dioxide emissions. Environmentalists have expressed serious concern about the damage done to valuable flora and fauna due to the increase in oceanic, atmospheric and land temperatures. There is a formidable threat to the livelihood of ecosystems and the natural habitats of plants and animals. It has been predicted that climate change-induced flooding of regions and disproportional rainfall patterns could lead to migration, land sliding and temporary sea level as a result of melting ice in the Arctic and Antarctica region and would pave the way for loss of precious coastal land and forest covers which act as carbon absorption sinks. Food shortages are feared due to the breakage of food chains across countries that are dependent on labour-intensive agriculture.

Global and national awareness campaigns have been launched under the auspices of UN and its several agencies to reduce carbon emissions. It has been stressed by UN in the Paris Agreement in 2015 and the ensuing COP26 meeting held in Glasgow in October 2021 to reduce reliance on energy generated through

fossil fuels. It has even been suggested that energy generated through nuclear fuels is not clean since the nuclear waste is highly radioactive, difficult to dispose of and takes years to decay. It has been suggested that the future of energy generation should explore avenues through which efficient, clean, and uninterrupted energy can be generated and stored. Countries have been encouraged to opt for carbon neutrality and net-zero emissions. Support of climate scientists has been sought to conduct research in creating natural and artificial sinks to absorb carbon dioxide. Currently, the largest artificial carbon sinks can hardly remove more than one day of carbon emissions.

Alternate source of energy generation other than fossil fuels has been encouraged by several countries of the world. European Union, UK, China, etc. are the trailblazers which have pledged to opt for energy-saving devices, generation of energy through solar-powered photovoltaic cells, wind energy through wind turbines installed in large coastal areas and construction of more run-of-river dams for energy generation. Gradual phasing out of thermal power plants which use coal energy to run steam turbines and petrol or diesel-driven engines to run generators has been committed by some of the developed countries. The United States was the only country that withdrew from the Paris Agreement during the presidency of Donald Trump. However, after Joe Biden was elected as US president in 2020, the US again joined the Paris Agreement accord. China has set a deadline to become carbon neutral in 2060 with net-zero emissions and UK has set a deadline to become carbon neutral in 2050. China has announced that locally and internationally it is going to close all coal-powered electricity generation plants. At present, China is the largest consumer of coal in the world and it is the biggest emitter of carbon dioxide. Several other countries have given similar pledges to reduce their carbon footprints.

The dynamics of industrialization are changing at an alarming rate and the economics and politics of green technology have already started shaping them. Global consolidated funds for partnering in the development of clean and green technologies has been established and several meetings have been convened which aim to assist developing and developed countries to get new technology transfers, invest in green infrastructure and green modes of energy generation. Economists have meticulously argued that green technology is now intricately intertwined with global economics and the time to act is now. Policy frameworks need to be developed at this stage to pave the way for the utilization of green technologies and taking the benefit of scientific knowledge.

Developing countries are of the view that green technologies are not cheap and any mandatory restrictions on emissions would further reduce their economic growth. They have submitted that their burden should be shouldered by the rich developed countries by reducing their own emissions in the first instance. In the second instance, technical and financial assistance should be generously given by the developed countries through UN-mandated frameworks to the developing countries so that they can take the benefit of research in this field.

The North-South difference over who should reduce carbon footprint and emissions has been raging for some time between the developed and developing countries. The main stake of developing countries is that they want to leverage financial assistance and technological cooperation from the developed countries. The old-fashioned carbon trading scheme has been rejected by the developing countries. The climate assistance fund under the UN has now an endowment of more than \$15 billion. It is precisely this money that can be used by developed and developing countries to make targeted interventions to improve green energy generation.

Pakistan is among the 10 most-affected countries due to climate change. Pakistan's economy, agriculture and livelihood depend on its unique geography, vast systems of rivers, capping glaciers and canal irrigated plains. Climate change has had a drastic impact on its weather patterns as monsoon, pre-winter and winter rainfall patterns have changed significantly. A rise in temperature is crucial for its glacial north which is often dubbed as the 'Third pole' due to vast glaciers which feed its rivers and cross the length and breadth of the country to reach the Indian Ocean in its south. Lately, a wave of heat across areas of Sindh and Balochistan killed scores of people and led to urban flooding in Karachi. The changing weather patterns made horrific destruction across the country in the form of 2010 and 2011 floods when one-third of the country was inundated with floods causing tremendous loss of life, agriculture and setback to the economy.

The glaciers located in the north of Pakistan form the lifeline of its economy and agriculture. During the summertime, these glaciers shed excess ice and swell the flow of water across the rivers of Pakistan. Energy generation through hydroelectric power and a vast system of canal irrigation helps generate economic activity across the country. According to researchers, the water economy of Pakistan if properly utilized can generate more than \$65 billion on annual basis only through the control and efficient management of water systems of

the country. The canal water management and irrigation system of the country are in a dilapidated condition and cannot bear the brunt of climate change.

Pakistan's carbon emissions have significantly decreased during the last five years. It needs to be understood that carbon emissions are correlated with the economic growth of Pakistan country in recent years since the industry has expanded and led to an increase in the carbon emission footprint. Although the claim of the government is true that carbon emissions have decreased during the last five years, it is not factually correct that government policies have paved the way for a decline in carbon emissions. As per the government claim that afforestation and billion tree tsunami have reduced carbon emissions, it needs to be understood that these trees have not reached the maturity stage to start absorbing the bulk of the carbon emissions. The Covid-19 pandemic put brakes on industrial output and led to negative growth in the industrial sector during the financial year 2019-20. Decrease in travel, inter and intra city transport, less usage of electricity and energy led to decline in the carbon emissions.

Pakistan's agriculture is highly vulnerable to climate change since it is fed by a complex irrigation system across the plains of Punjab and Sindh. Any uncertainty in the decreased inflow of water in rivers or uneven supply of canal water is bound to create inter-provincial feuds and bickering among the provinces. The Indus River System Authority is responsible for sharing water resources between the four federating units. Water discord already exists and any uneventful decrease in supply can create more bad blood between the provinces and lead a volley of allegations against the federation over its impartiality. Other sensitive areas are loss of agriculture in the lower riparian areas, decrease in crop yields, unpredictable harvests. The floods of 2010 and 2011 lead to water logging and salinity issues in the low-lying areas of Sindh and displaced thousands of people in the KPK, Punjab and Sindh. Karachi experienced the worst form of urban flooding in decades in the years 2020 and 2021.

Pakistan's water economy is facing grave challenges of sustainability in wake of galloping water demand as more and more population shifts to urban areas. A survey revealed that more than 40 percent of the population in the urban areas of Karachi, Lahore, Faisalabad, Islamabad, Rawalpindi and Sargodha, etc. were highly water-stressed. In many areas despite regular rainfalls, the water table had receded to a height below 1000 metres. The government supplied water in a large metropolis was uncertain, shaky and inadequate. The performance of the local and municipal government added insult to injury by not making any arrangements for excess water storage. There exist no arrangements to store extra water by building small dams and through the creation of more percolation and transfer arrangements to some central storage areas.

Climate change can severely dent trade activity in Pakistan and put brakes on industrial output. Although the agriculture sector only accounts for 19 percent of GDP, it employs more than 58 percent of the total informal labour force available in the country. Any loss in the agriculture sector would eventually lead to loss of labour and consequent incomes in the agriculture sector. Given the fact that wages are already low in the agriculture sector, any further decline in economic activity or farm output in this sector would eventually lead to an increase in poverty and displacements and loss in the GDP of the country. Loss in efficiency of the agriculture sector due to climate change taking a heavy toll has made the country highly vulnerable to food security as weather patterns change and lead to low yields and a decline in the quality of the soil. In the financial year, 2020-21 due to a decline in sugarcane and wheat harvests, imports worth \$1.5 billion had to be made to bridge the gap for domestic demand. Clearly, Pakistan could have saved \$1.5 billion and reduced its trade deficit, if it had focused more on averting climate change and its effects.

Around the world, several young climate protagonists have called for arresting the increase in carbon emissions levels. There have been demonstrations outside the UN and advocates of go green revolution have clamoured for a reduction in carbon emissions and imposed categorically binding restrictions. However, the youth is more disillusioned and worried at the moment since it can see that sincere efforts are not being invested to secure its future. Greta Thunberg, a Swedish climate activist threatened the world at UN session on climate to unleash efforts to mitigate climate disaster that is unravelling at the moment. Climate change control activists have rightfully highlighted that the go green revolution will not be realized until steps for tomorrow are taken today. Since the developing countries have a bigger share of population and youth numbers, inaction on climate control is bound to leave lasting scars and imprint indelible marks on the future progress of youth in the developing areas of the world.

Town planning is dependent on the prevailing weather conditions in which drought, precipitation and heat waves are predicted through the use of local metrological stations. In the case of Pakistan, there is a dire need to give accurate weather information on a daily basis keeping in view the commute, blockage of roads,

saving of time and avoiding unnecessary hassle. Municipal and town planning departments need more green belts, plantation, and water storage and drainage construction to tackle climate change. There is another aspect to having advanced knowledge of changing weather conditions and it is making people prepared for any saving time. Climate change has made weather unpredictable and this is not encouraging news for economies that thrive on tourism. Pakistan would not be designated as a tourist-friendly country if foreign tourists are not given accurate weather forecasts prior to their travel. An unpredictable weather pattern can wreak havoc with the vacation plan of any foreign tourist.

Coal based energy projects have been included in the CPEC related projects which would add more energy to the national grid of the country. Prior to the COP26 meeting on climate change in Glasgow, China sounds good news for climate activists in Pakistan, this news is not well received in the energy planning circles of the country since the country has embraced many coal-based energy generation projects in the country. There is still an opportunity for Pakistan to renegotiate energy generation on the basis of coal-based power plants in case any technology transfer and implementation has not taken place after making a comprehensive carbon emission calculation.

Climate change diplomacy and a genuine urge and commitment to reducing climate change on a global and national level should now be the cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan is a proactive member of UN forums looking after climate change initiatives. It has always highlighted the vulnerability of the country against climate disasters and encouraged the use of green energy technologies. It has co-chaired with Canada a \$15 billion Green Climate Fund (GCF) mandated to invest 50 percent of its resources to mitigation and 50 percent to adaptation in grant equivalent. At least half of its adaptation resources must be invested in the most climate-vulnerable countries. Pakistan stands at the cusp of leveraging tremendous opportunities through international participation and a sincere urge to boost green economic activities. It can make judicious use of climate funds to develop its weather stations, build waterways and reservoirs, repair canals, etc. It needs to forge partnerships with the developed countries of the world to invest in its energy infrastructure and the development of natural carbon sinks. The green initiatives seek investment and collaboration in several areas of technological expertise. There are frameworks and channels which help break financing barriers in developing countries.

Realistic goals and timelines need to be framed to launch the country on the path of climate control. Pakistan's energy generation is skewed and largely dependent on costlier and inefficient thermal means of energy generation. Solar energy resource parks need to be established in areas where there is exposure to sunlight. Similarly, large wind farms need to be established in the coastal areas of the country. There should be strict environmental regulations on the control of emissions by the manufacturing industry. This initiative can be materialized by achieving consensus and engagement of chambers of commerce and representatives of industries. Research and collaboration should be made an integral part of all policy initiatives. The transport sector is the least regulated and there needs to be a holistic plan on the table to reduce emissions from this sector. Public transport needs to be encouraged with a lesser reliance on personal cars. Inter and intra city heavy transport needs to be transferred to public-private initiative driven trains. The energy sector policy initiatives need to penalize carbon gushing energy generation plants.

The future of economic expansion, progress and industrial development is now linked closely with investment in green technologies. Pakistan can ill-afford to expand its economy and ignore climate-related implications. It needs to take stock of the movement that future investments for financing and technological development would be based entirely on a concern for climate-related repercussions. Pakistan's investment concerns should take on avenues for more alternate energy usage. Even in the field of agriculture, investment in new research farm inputs i.e. fertilizers and pesticides should be made so that only optimally required carbon is stored in soil and the release of carbon and nitrates to the atmosphere is least and regulated.

Pakistan needs to invest in its weather management systems and institutions that are looking after any subtle changes occurring in weather across different areas of the country. It needs a highly integrated yet decentralized system of weather reporting so that information on weather can be shared at the tehsil, district, provincial and national levels at regular intervals. It needs to expand the information of weather to a large audience and raise awareness related to weather on a war footing. It needs to develop an integrated platform for coordination between Pakistan Meteorological Department (PMD), provincial disaster management authorities (PDMA), National Disaster and Risk Management Fund (NDRMF) and Pakistan Space & Upper

Atmosphere Research Commission (SUPARCO). The use of early warning systems for predicting changing weather patterns would help to ward off the commotion created by climate change. In the last two decades, floods have increased by 134 percent and droughts by 20 percent in Pakistan. Climate change in the country needs to be tackled through the scientific decision making and scientific climate information provided in a decision support system framework for improved coordination and forecast through the Global Framework for Climate Services (GFCS). Pakistan has not developed its national framework for climate services whereas China and India have developed their GFCS. Institutions that are helpful in the development of the climate services framework are SUPARCO, PMD, NDRMF. Since climate change ministry exists at the federal level, it is heavily mandated to interact with other institutions and the onus lies on it to use the financing facilities and design of federal and provincial planning commissions. The joint onus lies on the federal planning commission to fill the void and coordinate with the national and provincial authorities, and to act as a bridge between the technical institutions and planning commission departments of other provinces

Climate change mitigation and control of carbon dioxide emissions require sincere efforts. The job of the institutions which are looking after weather-related information and changes is to stay alert against any surprise floods. Advance preparation for drought should be made as soon as rainfall pattern changes and arrangement for water directed to recoup the health of crops is made without any loss of time. Since weather patterns are dependent on the water cycle, Hydro climate and Met data support should be supplied to farmers to address the critical issue of food security. The focus should be on hydrology and water utilization and storage facilities so that changing weather patterns don't affect supply chains and food security. Special focus should be on the quality of water provided for agriculture supplanted by judicious use of farm input fertilizers. Data support and sharing science mechanisms should be placed in early warning systems to share information and avoid hazards. Plan to mitigate the effects of climate change should cater to sustainable development so that use of water, energy, fertilizer and manpower are optimally balanced.

In 2015, the National Institute of Oceanography warned that Karachi could be completely submerged by 2060 if the current trajectory of rising sea levels continues unabated. The thought that the financial hub of the country could be under water in a few decades should stir up policy makers into action. A state of the art 50-megawatt Zephyr Wind Farm in Gharo Gharo — is a town located in Thatta District, Sindh—is being built through public private partnership, partly-funded with UK capital, including 25 turbines located at the edge of the Indus delta. Zephyr is restoring the magnificent mangrove swamp around the windfarm to protect the site from increased flooding in the near future. Natural flood protection like mangrove swamps can be up to 50 times more effective than concrete flood protection, and Pakistan's mangroves have the potential to store around 21 million tonne of organic carbon and serve as carbon sinks. They are also a potential income source if a carbon credit system becomes more widespread.

Tackling climate change is not just an issue for governments, private sector should also make precious little contribution in decarbonising their manufacturing processes. Several companies in Pakistan have committed to halving their emissions by 2030 and get to net zero emissions by 2050. Leading Pakistani companies including Sapphire, Soorty, Gul Ahmed and others are seeing not just brand advantage but competitive advantage in decarbonising their business. The small portion of private sector of Pakistan has made a commitment to demonstrate that since global capital is shifting away from fossil fuels, it makes sense a business' balance sheet to be a part of the green revolution.

Pakistan stands to lose tremendously if it ignores the elephant in the room and doesn't mitigate the disaster caused by climate change. As per UN agencies, it is among the 10 most-affected countries by climate change. It has to cater to its energy needs and tread a careful path with the help of coordinated and well-formulated policies to support its dwindling agriculture and industrial economy. It is not among the top polluters but it can take the benefit offered by multilateral climate agencies to plan its future. It has to invoke robust climate diplomacy to leverage financial cooperation and investment opportunities in order to buttress go green economic policies. A research and coordination framework is vital for its spatially distributed institutions which can create an enabling environment for predicting weather change. It can reduce its carbon emissions by reducing its reliance on thermal and coal energy. Pakistan needs to increase its forest cover, repair and reclaim its depleted water reservoirs and canal irrigation systems, and invest in natural carbon sinks to absorb carbon emissions. Awareness campaigns, correct policy tools and integrated management are need of the hour if climate change needs to be leashed. It can make an arguable case to the world with its sincere efforts to ward off the destruction which has all the potential to push the country away from the path of development.

## Electoral Reforms have been Introduced in Haste and Contain the Seeds to Imperil Democracy

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
  - Electoral reforms are need of the hour for strengthening democracy in the country
  - Why consensus based electoral reforms were needed in Pakistan's democratic process?
  - (i) Harmonizing of franchise
  - (ii) Changing rural and urban spectrum and population composition necessitated electoral reforms but due to differing views between the opposition parties and incumbent Pakistan-Tehrik-Insaf they remained in limbo
  - (iii) Delimitation of old and new constituencies became inevitable across the country as a result of demographic change resulting from population increase and migration increased the demand for electoral reforms
  - (iv) A large youth population coming of voting age and eligible for casting vote needs to consolidate its stakes in the election process
  - (v) Use of census carried out lately and utilization of its results to strengthen democracy and electoral process
  - (vi) Electoral reforms to strengthen democracy and political institutions by removing discord and dissonance between the incumbent government and opposition parties
  - (vii) Political process to become foolproof, robust, and firmly cemented which could enable the impartiality of the polling staff and empower the electoral process and increase voter turnout
  - (viii) A mandatory rule to conduct intra-party elections on annual basis and selection of leadership at regional and national level through nomination and monitoring of the ECP
  - (ix) Engaging various tiers of the government such as local government and municipalities so that participation of electorate should be ensured
  - (x) Electoral reforms could have paved the way toward various collaborative concerns being shared between the federal, provincial and local governments
  - (xi) Electoral reforms receive huge applause and support from international independent watchdogs, analysts and these institutions give feedback on the entire electioneering process
- (b) What were the major impediments in the implementation of electoral reforms and who were the stakeholders?
  - (i) Major stakeholders were opposition parties, government, citizens and, NADRA, Election Commission of Pakistan
  - (ii) Reputation of NADRA and ECP was at stake and the entire election process could become a sham process since the government constantly bludgeoned ECP and its members
  - (iii) Accountability at first stage of democratic process has become controversial after the passage of electoral reforms bill since the government bulldozed the bill through a joint session of the parliament
  - (iv) Major disagreement between the government and opposition parties was EVMs and voting rights for the overseas Pakistanis
  - (v) ECP independence has been under attack as government ministers have traded scathing attacks and slandered its reputation
  - (vi) Efforts were made by the government to delegitimize the office of Election Commissioner and to make it submissive to government dictates (Foreign funding case of PTI is pending since 2018)
  - (vii) ECP is still strangled by lack of funds to purchase EVMs, conduct staff trainings and organize elections on country-wide scale

- (viii) Electoral reform bill has been introduced without government working on consensus building with the opposition, with no discussion taken place and no objections of the political parties addressed
- (ix) No consultation process between opposition parties and government meant that democratic culture still requires consultation and compromise to stay entrenched
- (x) Government has not used standing committees of the National Assembly to table a motion and kick-start any discussion
- (xi) Government efforts to push electoral reforms bill through a joint session of the two houses of parliament since it doesn't have a majority in the Senate shows it has little regard for democratic culture, values and public opinion
- (c) Why did the opposition parties oppose the EVMs in the next general elections?
- (f) What difference would the voting rights granted to overseas Pakistanis make?
- (g) Implications of stalemate on electoral reforms between government and opposition represented a legislative challenge
- (h) The implications of hasty passage of electoral reforms bill by the incumbent PTI government are as follows:
  - (i) The next elections could become controversial
  - (ii) Erosion of public trust in the electoral and democratic process
  - (iii) Democratic project could be marred by bickering and controversy since there are no clear winners
- (i) What is the way forward to overcome the deadlock and bickering after the passage of electoral reforms bill?
  - (i) Consultative process to lead
  - (ii) Confidence building measures and checks to be ensured
  - (iii) Participation of all party stakeholders
- (j) Conclusion

## ESSAY

Pakistan's democracy is in a nascent stage despite a lapse of 74 years due to a slew of issues plaguing its social, economic and political institutions. It has weathered four stern martial laws which have sapped the energy and confidence of the electorate in the democratic process. It has been battered by dynastic politics propped by the ruling establishment that have constrained the options of people to choose good leadership which can steer the country out of perennial crisis. Low levels of literacy, highly ingrained power structures and glacial inertia to improve governance and status quo have diminished the prospects of its success in the country. The political climate is already charged up due to contentious bickering, disagreements and false allegations. Accountability watchdogs have been used as a blackmailing tool to hound political opponents when they are not in power. No wonder then that little room is left for reconciliation and prudent bargain to run the democratic process. This tense acrimonious scenario blocked the path toward any consensus between the ruling party and the opposition political parties to cement the democratic process. Undoubtedly, electoral reforms form the bedrock of democracy since they improve the process of electing candidates to political power. The opportunity has been missed by the current Pakistan Therik-e-Insaaf (PTI) party to reform the office of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP), introduce electoral reforms that are mutually agreed upon after consultation and strengthen the oversight of the electorate and other national and international think-tanks to oversee the electioneering process.

Electoral reforms were direly needed in Pakistan to make democratic participation more engaging and participative. At the time of their introduction they were intended to empower the electorate, remove clogs in the management of political parties, place caps on the spending and receiving of funds and introduce inter and intra party independence. Pakistan's parliament has been able to complete only two successful tenures in its political and legislative history lately, therefore, there was no better time than now to bridge differences and move ahead with the reform agenda. The benefits attached to an electoral reform process based on a consultative and collective process were ignored and the noble goal to promote a culture of democracy has been sacrificed. A mutually agreed reforms agenda and *modus operandi* discussed in detail could have brought political parties together to carry out electoral reforms. If reforms were carried out with consensus and consultations between the opposition parties and the government then the entire reforms exercise would have

enhanced the confidence of different stakeholders - which included political parties, people, and intelligentsia - on the election process.

Electoral reforms were required to harmonize franchise in the wake of rapidly changing urban and rural demographic composition in the country. Presently, more than 64 percent of the population lives in rural areas and 36 percent in urban areas. However, since a massive wave of urbanization has begun and new voters are reaching the eligibility criteria, therefore, new constituencies needed to be delimited and voter registration through NADRA and ECP should have been taken. There is still an urgent need in urban areas and rural areas to revise and organize new voter lists that exist at the moment and propose any new changes that could occur prior to the election process so that a political party has an idea about the number of voters in an electoral constituency.

Comprehensive result of the census carried out in 2017 has sounded alarm bells over the demographic gradient that has undergone change since the last census was conducted in March 1998. The youth component of the population which is eligible for voting is in majority, and all political parties would have taken the benefit of wooing this large part of the population. Apart from engaging the youth, electoral reforms were envisaged to pave the way for the political parties to make good use of the census results and improve their campaign manifestoes. Constructive use of electoral reforms would have given political parties an edge in understanding the issues of the electorate and glean a clear understanding of the issues plaguing the youth in different constituencies. Youth could add a make-or-break factor to the success of any party which mobilizes it.

Electoral reforms were intended to strengthen state institutions and make the democratic process more empowered. They could ensure that the political process was foolproof and no rigging could occur and allegations of stealing each other's mandate would not surface immediately after or during the elections. The first key stake in the electoral reforms was to strengthen the ECP. Even before the passage of the Electoral Reform Bill, threats were hurled by the ruling PTI government against the ECP accusing it of corruption and maladministration. Ruling and opposition parties fought pitched battles against each other by playing on the turf of ECP. The independence required by ECP seems to be compromised after the passage of this Electoral Reforms Bill. Regrettably, the PTI government has not shown any political maturity. It left out some of the key concerns before the passage of the bill such as security of tenure and independent appointment of the office of Chairman ECP, its members, and its board after consultation with the opposition political parties.

Elections should not be an exercise conducted to win power-sharing arrangements and ascend to executive power. Prior to the start of general elections in 2023, ECP should mandatorily supervise intra-party elections. Pakistan's democracy is not stable and is based on a personality cult instead of a process that identifies talented leadership after a rigorous internal selection process. Old-guard can only be replaced by the new vanguards in the party if intra-party elections are carried out on regular intervals and leaders are identified on the basis of experience, grasp of the legislative and political matters at local and national levels.

Monitoring of party funds and source of funding was a thorny issue before the passage of the Electoral Reforms Bill that often saw turf battles between political parties and the ECP. There was a way out by virtue of which scapegoating ECP could be avoided whenever it starts an investigation into alleged fund frauds by political parties. ECP reform agenda could have entrusted a reputed international audit firm, SBP and Securities and Exchange Commission of Pakistan (SECP) to investigate the sources of funds by a political party and avert any impending crisis. The foreign funding cases against political parties heightened tensions between the ECP and a few political parties. Legislation and consultation should be used to resolve the matter of digging out any malfeasance by any political party even after the passage of the reform bill. Moreover, democratic norms stipulate that political parties should submit their own work to scrutiny by independent institutions.

International observers and several local think-tanks monitor the election process in the country. Pakistan needs to incorporate public and international opinion in improving its democratic process. Although it is not possible to grant legal cover to any survey or report which monitors the election process, there is still an opportunity to create a framework by virtue of which electoral reforms under discussion can be drafted on the basis of feedback by national and international observers. There is a widespread public opinion that polling staff drawn from education and population departments is not impartial and this selection process leads to the rigging of elections. Several think-tanks have suggested that the selection of staff at polling stations should be made after a rigorous foolproof system. Any complaints against the staff should be immediately routed to a central command station and a mechanism should be devised so that any tampering of the ballot boxes ought to be reported immediately.

The ruling PTI party has taken the contentious step to enact and bulldoze electoral reforms which have been vehemently opposed by different political parties of the country. The aim of this reforms act is to ensure an open ballot in the Senate and allow the overseas Pakistanis to contest the elections. Reforms agenda also envisages the proposal of further empowering the Election Commission of Pakistan through a consultative process of a parliamentary committee though the actions of the present government are contradictory. The electoral reforms were required to be chalked out in a non-partisan manner so that there was nothing in the amendments that could be in favour or against any political party. Two important proposed amendments contained in the electoral reforms were the introduction of electronic voting machines (EVMs) and the grant of franchise right to overseas Pakistanis and give them permission to contest elections as well as an identifiable ballot for Senate elections. Moreover, it has been religiously canvassed by the ruling PTI party: the use of electronic voting machines in the election would ensure early results.

The electoral reforms agenda envisages amendments to be made to the Constitution and the Election Act 2017. Initially, the government declared that reforms agenda would be put forth before the stakeholders, including the civil society, media and bar councils and associations for their inputs. Under the reforms package, Section 103 of the Election Act, 2017, would be amended to allow the use of EVMs and the system would be verified before relevant stakeholders to ensure transparency. Moreover, Section 94 was planned to be amended to give the right of franchise to overseas Pakistanis. Section 15 of the Elections Act, 2017 was also planned to be amended which related to complaints against polling staff. That new amendment would enable the contesting candidates to challenge the appointment of polling staff within 15 days.

The electoral reforms are aimed at promoting a culture of democracy within the political parties. As per plan an amendment to Section 202 was enacted in the bill under which the political parties having representation of 10,000 members would be able to get themselves registered. Similarly, a new Section of 213A was introduced making it compulsory for the political parties to hold their annual conventions. The designation of polling staff has always remained a contentious issue; therefore, the reform bill enacted envisaged that an amendment in Section 15 would provide an opportunity to the candidates to challenge polling staff. An urgent need was felt to use data resources of Nadra and it was proposed that the electoral rolls be prepared on the basis of registration data available with Nadra. The electoral reforms package also included debating over the consequential and contentious issue of delimitation of constituencies on the basis of registered voters.

The electoral reforms enacted by the ruling PTI party included 50-point changes which were made in the Election Act 2017 by introducing or abrogating sections and making amendments to the existing sections. The ruling party adamantly bulldozed Elections (Amendment) Bill and got it passed through a joint sitting of the parliament since the government lacked a majority in the upper parliamentary house. Meanwhile, the speaker of the National Assembly has constituted a special committee for consideration on the new proposed laws but the opposition showed reluctance to discuss them. The ruling party lost the opportunity to discuss and ensure improvement in electoral laws but opposition parties due to the high-handedness of the government, unfortunately, did not take serious various bodies, including standing committees, constituted for the purpose of electoral reforms.

The major stakeholders in electoral reforms are government, opposition parties, citizens and, Nadra, the Election Commission of Pakistan. Any electoral reforms should have catered to a mutual consultative process. Since there have been accusations of alleged rigging and partisanship against the ECP, therefore electoral reforms have staked the reputation of Nadra and ECP and fears are rife that the entire election process may become a sham. Accountability at the first stage of the democratic process would now be jeopardized if the election process is marred by controversy. The major disagreement between the government and opposition are EVMs and voting rights for the overseas Pakistanis. ECP independence has been under attack as government ministers have launched attacks and slandered it. Efforts of government to delegitimize the office of Election Commissioner and to make it submissive to government dictates have borne no fruit and sowed more blood between the government and the opposition parties.

ECP has raised objections over the use of EVMs and has also cited a lack of funds to proceed in the matter after the passage of the Electoral Reforms Bill. The estimated cost of the election in 2018 was Rs. 28 billion; however, the use of EVMs could increase the election budget to Rs. 56 billion. The electoral reform bill has been approved into law without the government working on consensus building with the opposition. No consultation process could gain headway between opposition and government since the government stated

that the leader of the opposition had NAB cases against him; therefore, there was no point in consulting the leader of the opposition. Standing committees were not used to taking any benefit from their work.

Opposition parties opposed EVMs on the premise that the entire election process could be rigged since the biometric machines could be manoeuvred, no physical record would be available for cross-matching. The ruling party has now enacted the electoral reforms bill that would introduce EVMs on a wholesale scale for the entire country touting that it would introduce transparency in the electoral process, deliver results quickly and make cross-checking of votes possible. The stance of the proponents of EVMs is that forensic audit of any election constituency could be done with the help of Nadra, ECP and the stake holding candidates who have been allotted tickets by their parties. Live results could be streamed during the election process and the biometric system could be made foolproof. EVMs would not delay the results of the polling for 12 or more hours. Instead, the results would be received 20 minutes after the election process.

Although suggestions proffered by the ruling party to make good use of EVMs are groundbreaking yet the concerns raised by the opposition parties have not been adequately addressed. The opposition stance is that since the EVMs have not been used in any by-election elsewhere in Pakistan, therefore, at the first instance, a pilot project should be used for demonstrating whether the results produced are accurate. The second objection against EVMs is the prodigal cost it would impose on the national exchequer. The third objection was the potential loopholes that could crop up at the time of the integration process of ECP, Nadra and Portals developed for party ticket holders. There is considerable thrust in objection of the opposition that low literacy and poor use of technology by a large portion of the electorate could hurt the confidence of the people in the electoral process. In a way, the opposition parties were of the view that people aren't just ready for the blanket implementation of EVMs in the next electoral process.

Grant of voting right to overseas Pakistanis has become a contentious issue after the passage of electoral reforms' bill. There are approximately 9 million overseas Pakistanis in the world who either hold Pakistani or dual nationality. The electoral reforms enacted by the ruling PTI party discuss the grant of voting rights to overseas Pakistanis. This thorny issue should be looked at from the perspective of duplication of the vote in Pakistan should an overseas Pakistani opts to vote in Pakistan, and the resources required to conduct a vote outside Pakistan and the consequent oversight of ECP to monitor the election process. The transparency of the entire electoral process needs to be ensured along with the impartiality of the staff. Another issue is that the community overseas would be scattered, there would be no delimitation of areas, and political parties may not get the necessary permission to conduct an election campaign.

Legislation is the primary function of the national parliament and provincial assemblies and that is exactly why these are called the legislatures. Some additional, almost equally important, functions such as oversight of the executive and representation of the electorate are also counted towards the performance of legislatures but legislation remains their primary responsibility. Legislation in Pakistan faces challenges that emanate from the financial and institutional autonomy of the ECP. The latter is not new and some of them have recurred in the past as well but all these challenges seem to have converged today which makes the legislative scenario quite murky. The most serious challenge pertains to an almost complete breakdown of the working relationship between the government and opposition in both Houses of the parliament and in some provincial legislatures too. This state of relations has made it impossible to go about the normal process of lawmaking.

The absence of a working relationship between the government and the opposition has led to steamrolling of legislation in the National Assembly where the ruling coalition has a thin majority. But, in the Senate, where the ruling coalition lacks a majority and cannot get laws passed with as much ease as in the National Assembly, the government has increasingly relied on presidential ordinances. The previous PML (N) government had promulgated 37 ordinances in its five-year term from 2013-18 but the current PTI government has already promulgated 58 ordinances in just three years. The yearly average of ordinances promulgated by the PTI during the past three years works out to be 19 which is almost three times the yearly average of seven by the PML (N) and almost matches the yearly average of 20 by the PPP from 2008 to 2013. Ordinances or legislation by decree constitutes the second major legislative challenge of the times.

Sadly, consensus could not be developed for the 50-point package of electoral amendments proposed by the ruling coalition in October 2020. The National Assembly Standing Committee on Parliamentary Affairs passed it after some eight months but only with a split mandate and that too when only eight members were present out of a total of 21. Even the plenary session of the National Assembly passed the bill within minutes

without any discussion and the voice vote was called only when the opposition walked out protesting at the lack of opportunity to debate. This breakdown of parliamentary consultation has affected many democratic processes such as the bipartisan appointment of two members of Election Commission but the greatest casualty has been legislation.

The standing committees are the most appropriate fora to consider legislations threadbare but, sadly, the standing committees in the provincial assembly of Punjab have been practically dysfunctional for the last three years because of a dispute between the ruling party and opposition regarding the chairmanship of the Public Accounts Committee. The standing committees in the Sindh Assembly have also not been functional for the last three years because of a similar dispute between the PPP-led government and the PTI-led opposition.

Although the standing committees in the Senate and the National Assembly continue to meet, seldom are these meetings able to produce legislation through consensus. Generally shielded from the media and public, the committees take decisions by consensus rather than voting. This spirit of working by consensus is needed in all kinds of legislation but electoral laws especially need bipartisan support in order to organise the electoral contest on the basis of a level playing field. A spirit of working by consensus is needed in all kinds of legislation.

An impasse on reaching out a consensus-based deal on electoral reforms can derail and malign the democratic project. In case the government bulldozes electoral reforms through the parliament then there are chances that the next elections can become controversial. Any hiccups in the electoral process would erode public trust in democracy and could mark the abominable return of martial law or spike intervention of undemocratic forces. Clearly, there are no winners in case controversy sabotages the democratic process. The country would compromise its standing among the comity of nations if the democratic and electoral process is not transparent. In case elections are compromised there are chances that several global watchdogs and international agencies would impose sanctions or boycott the country. There are grim chances that several projects would have their funding removed or reduced.

Intransigence on a consultative process between the government and the opposition parties can spell disaster for the country. The right approach is to adopt a middle way so that any future reforms on elections and electoral laws could be introduced after deliberation and consultation. The government should drop its excessive demand that no consultation with the opposition parties would be initiated since they have corruption cases pending against them. The differences can be hammered out if the two sides opt for consulting neutral advisors and stakeholders. Nadra and ECP are two independent institutions. Both government and opposition should entrust confidence in these institutions and appoint members with impeccable integrity records. These institutions should be financially autonomous with no political interference. Sadly, in the case of ECP, the government has a sordid history of hurling allegations and accusations of partisanship. This attitude of the government needs to change to make the electoral process a success.

Electoral reforms are sensitive issues around which our democracy hangs with its loose trappings. No government would win laurels if it ignored the issue of electoral reforms and doesn't arrive at a win-win situation through a negotiated settlement. Since the electoral process and reforms enacted require a foolproof process, therefore, transparency regarding the legislations introduced and passed without consultation between different stakeholders is a major legislative challenge. Any sting of politicisation of the election process needs to be removed forthwith and an understanding ought to be reached that democracy is going to prosper in an atmosphere of reconciliation. The manner in which government and opposition parties have locked horns with each other is highly condemnable. Maturity needs to be displayed since the fate of the people is tied with the election and democratic process. People have the biggest stake since their mandate is a trust that needs to be respected by political parties of all stripes. No future opportunity should be lost to improve the prospects of the electoral process and enact meaningful electoral reforms.

## Pakistan's External and Internal Challenges

### OUTLINE

(a)

#### Introduction

##### Pakistan's external challenges

- (i) Situation in Afghanistan is volatile due to the collapse of the Afghan government after the takeover by the Taliban and requires the immediate attention of the world to avoid a large humanitarian crisis  
*Matter to be resolved through diplomacy and pressure from the international community on the Afghan Taliban to deliver on their promises to renounce terror activities and join the peace process*
- (ii) Terrorism threat from Afghanistan is imminent due to splinter groups that are not aligned with the Taliban and have a global agenda narrowed in favour of implementing Islam  
*International community needs to be engaged so that threat of global terrorism emanating from Afghanistan can be neutralized and eradicated through sting military and intelligence operations against the splintered groups*
- (iii) Indian aggression and transgression in the Indian-held Kashmir has made peace a hostage and Pakistan's efforts and initiatives to broker peace have been snubbed  
*Pakistan needs to engage the international community, UNSC forums and bilateral parleys to resolve the IOK conundrum and revive the independent status of Kashmir in the light of UNSC resolutions*
- (iv) Dispute settlement with India is required so that the two countries can spend on their hapless population and improve the condition of impoverished nations  
*Peace process and dialogue should be initiated between the two arch-rivals so that all outstanding contentious issues on border disputes could be resolved through back channel diplomacy and confidence-building measures*
- (v) US and Pakistan relations are moving through a frosty phase after hasty US withdrawal from Afghanistan and the US scapegoating Pakistan for its failure in the war on terror  
*Pakistan needs the support and assistance of the US; Both countries can partner to achieve peace and strategic collaboration and to end the distrust that exists between the two countries*
- (vi) Pak-China relations have been cemented over the years but due to the security situation in the country and the killing of Chinese engineers there are serious concerns that China may rethink the security of its personnel  
*Security situation in the country needs to be improved and made paramount so that the countries can have lasting friendship and security of their citizens ensured*
- (vii) Progress on CPEC has been slow and clarity is not emerging over the nature of projects being executed which have the potential to create distrust between the two partners  
*There has been a hullabaloo around the slow pace and growth of the CPEC projects and the secrecy that surrounds the project, clear details should be shared through the CPEC authority and ministry of communication along with liaison with the provinces*
- (viii) Climate change has implications for Pakistan at the national and international levels but Pakistan's focus should be on both fronts so that it may avert the big crisis in the future  
*Pakistan has been a staunch supporter of efforts to mitigate climate control through collaboration with the international community and a mix of policy actions at the national level to protect its economy, livelihood and environment*
- (ix) Nuclear arms race in South Asia can create a nightmare since US support of India to prop it up against China can create disturbance in the balance of power in the region and accelerate a nuclear arms race  
*Ease of tensions, and a let-up in acrimony between India and Pakistan can avert the horrible spectre of a nuclear arms race in the South Asian region*

- (x) Support for Palestine cause is a key plank of Pakistan foreign policy since it sees the occupied Arab lands by Israel as no different from the Indian occupation of Kashmir
 

*Pakistan has principally supported decolonization, right to self-determination and independence of all nations as per the diktats of International law*
- (xi) Maintaining cordial relations with Arab countries and Iran are a challenge for Pakistan due to power politics being played in the Gulf region
 

*Balanced foreign relations need to be maintained through dialogue and upholding national interest since Pakistan has equally good relations with Iran and Arab countries*
- (xii) Participation in regional and international organizations has been the cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy but SAARC lies dormant
 

*Pakistan needs to use diplomacy and its clout as a responsible state by using the potential offered by regional organizations*
- (xiii) Role as a peaceful country has been demonstrated time and again since Pakistan is a serious contributor to the UN agenda and peace missions
 

*Pakistan is an active member of the UN and it is committed to human rights, women empowerment, SDGs and UN peacekeeping missions*
- (xiv) Digitization of the world economy and Pakistan taking the lead by integrating its economy is a challenge since collaboration with the world economy is required
 

*Digitisation of the economy is in Pakistan's national interest and it is an external challenge since the sword of FATF still hangs on the country and digitization and strengthening of laws related to money laundering would help ease pressure on the economy of Pakistan*
- (c) Pakistan's internal challenges
  - (i) Terrorism and extremism need to be uprooted in the country as the Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan (TTP) pose a formidable threat to peace in the country and has implications for regional peace
 

There has been some chatter about offering amnesty to TTP but the state needs to remain firm in not conceding any space to the TTP until the group renounces its terrorist activities
  - (ii) Economy of Pakistan is beset with perennial problems of balance of payments, trade deficit, slow growth rate and lower business confidence
 

Pakistan needs to fix its economy by taking decisions that boost its trade, reduce the trade deficit and increase the capacity of the economy to innovate
  - (iii) Revenue generation by FBR and provincial governments are troublesome and these tax authorities fail to achieve the targets assigned, leading to deficits and more bank borrowing by the government
 

FBR and other revenue boards in provincial governments in subsequent years have been unable to expand their tax base and they need to act earnestly to achieve their targets by enacting reforms, using technology and using manpower judiciously
  - (iv) Industry issues include low FDI investment, lack of skilled labour, lesser jobs and poor infrastructure support by the government
 

Pakistan needs to use private and public partnerships of its institutions and companies so that it can attract FDI, increase the capacity of its workers, generate more jobs
  - (v) Investment and FDI decline due to uncertain situation in Afghanistan and ease of doing business and lack of integrated business management portals
 

Pakistan needs to integrate its businesses and score higher on the business index portals. Its ease of doing business should be among the best in the world if it wants to increase trade and it also needs a secure investment and a peaceful environment
  - (vi) Population increase is a challenge for the country and utilization of this large population as a precious human resource seems to be an insurmountable challenge
  - (vii) Pakistan needs to urgently arrest its population increase. It needs a mass contact campaign so that the population decrease is monitored and several allied matters related to population explosion
  - (viii) Unemployment in the country is high and there are poor labour laws that don't guarantee decent employment prospects

*Pakistan needs to increase its employment and apprenticeship plans so that it can use its talent. It should also focus on revamping its labour laws so that corporate ethics and decision making improve pay and promotion prospects*

- (ix) Health sector faces a shortage of staff, medical facilities, lack of autonomy, corruption, inefficiency, over-centralisation
 

*Embedded issues in the health sector need urgent attention and terminal issues should be resolved on a war footing*
- (x) Public institutions are not performing optimally and there is a serious issue of service delivery, red tapism and shoddy performance
 

*A concerted effort is needed to make public institutions responsible. The nature of public institutions is extractive and these institutes are not earnestly dedicated in favour of the people. Instead, they support a harsh and unsympathetic status quo which is based on exploitation*
- (xi) Energy crisis has resulted due to shady deals executed to attract costly energy generation which has led to a liquidity crisis in the power sector, other than that there is the issue of high energy generation cost, power theft, power shortages
 

*Pakistan's energy needs to be systematized and streamlined with a specific focus on reducing the cost of generation, and removing issues embedded in the generation, transmission and distribution stages*
- (xii) Circular debt due to financial crisis in the power sector and failure of government to pay independent power producers their fixed share of capacity payments
 

*The IPP agreements have been made at throwaway prices and the agreements need to be revisited*
- (xiii) Water issues stem from mismanagement as the country faces water stress, waterlogging, decrease in per capita availability of water
 

*Awareness campaigns should be initiated to apprise about the water situation, new research to use crops that use less water, the mismanagement and inefficiency in the system should be reduced*
- (xiv) Education sector smacks of trouble, poor quality of education, outdated education system, low-quality books, teacher training issues, absenteeism, and over-centralization
 

*Pakistan needs to improve its education sector and come up with a robust reform system to tackle the problems in the education sector through reform*
- (xv) Poverty pervades Pakistan's society and it has sapped the potential of people and blocked their growth to achieve their dreams and a sustainable living
 

*Poverty is the bane of Pakistan's society, and the state needs a livid taxation system to increase its revenues and play the role of taxing the rich heavily and investing it in the poor*
- (xvi) Corruption is rampant in official corridors and operates hand in glove with the private sector
 

*Successive governments have failed to improve corruption watchdogs and the issue of accountability has remained a pipe dream so far.*
- (xvii) Politics has become a teeming competition of trading barbs, bickering and allegations and needs to be civilized so that the political process could take roots
 

*The political process in the country smacks of contempt, and this attitude needs to be countered with maturity and responsibility*
- (xviii) Women empowerment needs to be made a high priority since women rights are human rights and lack of fundamental rights would create distinction, and the state should through its weight behind the marginalized and vulnerable communities of the country
 

*Women are participating in all walks of life and no opportunity should be lost to grant them their rights and create special incentives for them*
- (xix) Rule of law and governance needs to be improved since the fate of the people is intrinsically connected to the dispensation of justice and provision of good governance
 

*Independence of the bar should be made a linchpin of the legal justice system, with judicial reforms, change in laws through regular amendments and upgradation*

(xx) Food security is a serious concern since the country is facing the wrath of climate change, dwindling water reserves and poor planning of government departments. *Population is vulnerable to food security since there is a large population to feed and the issue of food security needs resolution: innovative ideas should be used through crop rotation, hybrid seeds, water-saving techniques and use of excessive moisture in the monsoon season*

(xxi) Provincial autonomy needs to be followed in letter and spirit and any indications that the 18th Amendment can be reversed should be immediately brushed aside. *The federal government should be focused on giving the provinces their share of resources and upholding provincial autonomy, politics should remain the focus of the areas where there is dissent and the constitutional spirit of provincial autonomy should not be disturbed*

(d) Conclusion

## ESSAY

### (a) External Challenges

Pakistan is facing grave existential and internal challenges owing to several problems which require urgent attention. Its external challenges largely stem from its proximity to powerful neighbours; its strategic geostrategic position, the uncertain security situation in Afghanistan; land disputes and unresolved Kashmir issue with India is a bone of contention between the two countries. The balance of power between Pakistan and India has shifted in favour of India due to the US throwing its weight behind India to counter Chinese influence in the region. As a result of conventional imbalance of power between the two arch rivals and nuclear armed neighbours, there are fears of a nuclear war and nuclear arms race in the South Asian region. The relations with the US are frosty due to the US exodus from Afghanistan. The security situation in Balochistan and terror attacks on Chinese engineers have become threatening to Pakistan's relations with China. Projects under the umbrella of CPEC have been facing a slowdown and the Chinese ambassador to Pakistan expressed serious reservations over the slow inertia in the implementation of these projects. Pakistan's relations with Arab countries and Iran are also critical to its foreign policy. At the internal front challenges include declining state institutions, a crumbling state, threat of TTP fomented terrorism, dilapidated education and health sectors, faltering exports, ballooning trade deficit and an impending economic crisis.

Uncertainty has been looming large after the collapse of the US-sponsored regime in Kabul and the Taliban takeover of Kabul in a bloodless coup. There has been considerable fear against the Taliban reign since the last time they were in power a draconian code was imposed which had no regard for human rights. This time Taliban have pledged that they will respect women rights and allow children to resume school. However, the words of the Taliban have not matched with their actions. Pakistan has reiterated at UN and other forums that an imminent humanitarian crisis looms large in Afghanistan since the war-battered and poverty-ridden country now lacks the financial impetus to stand on its feet and feed an impoverished nation. There are issues of channelling aid and Pakistan has advocated immediate food aid shipments. Should the security or food shortage crisis worsen in the country there are chances that massive migrations would occur. UNHCR has already warned of more refugees pouring into Pakistan. There is widespread fear that splintered terrorist outfits could take advantage of a sneaking into Pakistan as refugees.

The security situation in Pakistan requires urgent attention since the fall of the US-sponsored regime in Kabul has created a security vacuum. At this moment, Pakistan needs to invoke a diplomatic solution to the security crisis and vouch for an UN-sponsored diplomatic solution. International recognition has not been granted to the Taliban government in Afghanistan. This opportunity can be used by the international community to pressure the Taliban to renounce violence and cooperate with the global community in order to eliminate the threat of al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. Pakistan has been pleading with the Taliban government to give a guarantee that Afghan soil will not be used for any launch of terror activities against Pakistan and the global community. Pakistan has also pleaded with the world community to give humanitarian aid to the Taliban regime. Diplomacy and cooperation are the only options that can avert chaos and coerce the Taliban regime to renounce violence and terror.

The takeover of Kabul by the Taliban may have been smooth but there is a bumpy road ahead as IS-Khorasan and IS threat looms large. These terror outfits have global agenda and have called for global

aggression and implementation of a specific version of Islam through force. Major terror attacks have been carried out against the Taliban after their takeover which has killed scores of people and created mayhem. These terror outfits aim to browbeat the Taliban into submission and carry out terror activities by using Afghan territory. This situation doesn't augur well for peace prospects in the region and the world. Due to weak control and oversight by the Taliban regime, Afghanistan can easily turn into a hotbed of terrorist activities.

Decades of war in Afghanistan has thrown an asunder administrative and security set-up which could be used to address challenges to intelligence gathering and elimination of terrorist safe havens. The war rugged terrain, inhospitable climatic conditions and non-existent writ of the state made it difficult to monitor the movement of terrorists in the remote areas of the country. The US during 20 years of its occupation couldn't bust safe havens of terrorists due to their unfamiliarity with the terrain and geography of the area. This time Pakistan and the international community need to chip in with the US throwing its weight behind the efforts made so that a diplomatic solution could be worked. Terror groups operating under the nose of the Taliban need to be uprooted and their threat neutralized through sting military and intelligence operations against any of the splintered groups. Engaging the Taliban government would be the key to achieving any progress on this issue.

Pakistan and Indian relations have been hostage to the Kashmir issue since the two countries attained their independence from the British in 1947. Indian aggression in occupied Kashmir has been a reign of terror, mayhem, bloodletting and trampling over the fundamental rights of the Kashmiri people. Lately, the Modi regime backed by its strong Hindu supremacist ideology has blocked all avenues of initiating any talks with Pakistan. India's fascist regime has been pursuing a policy to isolate Pakistan diplomatically and declare Pakistan a perpetrator of terrorism in the world. In its hubris to punish Kashmiris, India abolished the special autonomous status of occupied Kashmir and merged it with the main Indian Territory through a constitutional coup in violation of the independent status and by usurping the right of the people and parliament of the occupied Kashmir. Pakistan has always advocated resolution of the Kashmir issue in the light of UNSC resolutions which have called for a withdrawal of the Indian army from the forcefully occupied region and holding a plebiscite as per aspirations of the Kashmiri people. Pakistan has always advocated a peaceful resolution of the Indian occupied Kashmir issue. India has been delaying the issue on the pretext that it is India's internal issue and, therefore, the matter doesn't call for the intervention of the global community. Pakistan's efforts and offers for talks to resolve the Kashmir issue have been disregarded by India whether they have been made during official talks or through any back channel diplomacy.

India's insistence that the Kashmir issue is its internal matter and it can go on indefinitely with the exploitation, killing and blocking of Kashmiri people that needs to be countered through diplomacy. Pakistan's options to seek a negotiated settlement with India on the Kashmir issue are constrained given the economic clout India carries for the world as a big market to attract capital. Moreover, India has shown no willingness to entertain any pressure from foreign peace brokers. Questions have often been raised as to what Pakistan can do since India conduct is anything but intransigence. The answer lies that Pakistan can use international forums such as the UN, EU and OIC to raise the Kashmir issue and call for a diplomatic solution as per the aspirations of the people of Indian occupied Kashmir. History is witness to the fact that it was threats of sanctions and coercion that moved the apartheid regime in South Africa and other countries to give rights to the Black people and initiate the process of decolonisation. Pressure from the international community, US and UK can bring India to the table to resolve the Kashmir issue.

Pakistan and India are among the most populous countries of the world and their sour relations due to unresolved border disputes have held the entire region hostage to poverty, inequality and food insecurity. Time and again at various dialogues between the two arch rivals, Pakistan has stressed that border disputes in Sir Creek and Siachen should be resolved to build confidence between the two countries. A bus service was also started between the Indian-held Kashmir and Azad Kashmir to enable split families to meet at intervals. It has often been stressed that border disputes between the two countries are low hanging fruit which can be used to build confidence and remove the atmosphere of mistrust. The two neighbours are embroiled in multiple issues which threaten their survival.

Peace process and dialogue should be initiated between the two arch rivals so that all outstanding contentious issues on border disputes could be resolved through back channel diplomacy and confidence-building measures. Both countries have conducted various rounds of diplomacy centred around some key issues which include water sharing arrangement-Indus Basin Treat, land disputes-Sir Creek, Siachen etc., issues which include softening of visa regime, exchange of prisoners, cultural exchanges and cross border trade. Diplomacy has also

been shunned by India lately since it has been a core aspect of Indian foreign policy to isolate Pakistan. Nevertheless, Pakistan would stand to lose more moral ground if it doesn't vouch for peace in the region and takes the lead to initiate any meaningful dialogue.

US and Pakistan relations are moving through a frosty phase after unexpected and hastily executed US withdrawal from Afghanistan. Since the US exodus from Afghanistan, the US government has found it hard to answer its people and in the Congressional hearings what led to US defeat in Afghanistan despite an occupation that lasted for two decades. Since then, the US has been scapegoating Pakistan for its failure in the war on terror. Mixed answers have emerged from the US during its two-decade occupation of Afghanistan in which it moved from the installation of democracy in an alien political milieu to protecting the country from al-Qaeda and Islamic State to uprooting the threat of terrorism emanating from the region. The fact that the US has failed to achieve any of the objectives for which it started the war on terror and invaded Afghanistan is unconscionable for its status as a superpower. The other reason for unsavoury Pak-US relations is the investment made by China in Pakistan under the umbrella of CPEC projects. The US has been involved in a tug of war with China to retain its influence as a superpower while China gains military and strategic power. Both countries have developed a deep rift of mistrust and cooperation between the two countries has been over some narrow interests.

Pakistan needs the support and assistance of the US in different areas of mutual interest so that their relationship can move beyond a narrow security spectrum. It has been vocal about the security situation in Afghanistan and it beseeched the US many a time to consider the diplomatic solution of the Afghan imbroglio. It pleaded with the US that war was unwinnable in the rugged terrain of Afghanistan and that the US should talk to the Taliban. Even it clarified at the time of US roadmap for withdrawal from Afghanistan in August 2021 that the US government left people of Afghanistan to fend for themselves when it brokered a peace deal with the Taliban in Doha. Pakistan also rebuffed US claims that it has been playing a double game with the US in Afghanistan. It also clarified that it didn't provide any safe sanctuaries to the Taliban in its country. Since it seems that both countries are a long way from burying the hatchet, it is time that Pakistan should partner with China, Russia, NATO and the EU to demonstrate its credentials as a sincere broker of peace. Both US and Pakistan need to brokers a durable multipronged relationship to achieve peace through economic and strategic collaboration. US can use its leverage to help Pakistan in its FATF and IMF related issues. Pakistan can also benefit immensely through US support in technology transfer and reformation of various sectors of its economy. Talks and collaborations are the only way ahead for the two countries to end the distrust that exists between them and to honour each other's national interests.

Pak-China relations have been cemented over the years. Both countries enjoy very cordial relations and China is among the top investors in Pakistan. Of late, due to the security situation in the country and the killing of Chinese engineers, there are serious concerns that China may rethink the security of its personnel and the execution of many projects it has undertaken in Pakistan. The security situation in the areas of Balochistan where CPEC projects are operational needs to be improved. The security of Chinese nationals needs to be made paramount so that the lives of Chinese officials is secure and relations between the two countries do not get embittered due to any untoward incident. In this regard, the security and intelligence apparatus would have to remain on its toes. It is the need of the hour to pinpoint areas that have different risk factors. In certain instances, only explosive devices have been used which have led to scores of Chinese deaths. The security situation couldn't have been more threatening and it requires urgent practical action.

Progress on the execution of CPEC projects has been slow and clarity is not emerging over the nature of projects being executed. Concern has been expressed by the Chinese ambassador over the slow progress and missing deadlines. This slow pace of development of CPEC projects has the potential to create an atmosphere of distrust between the two partners. This matter of slow development and execution inertia should raise eyebrows in the highest quarters of decision making since missing deadlines or not working smoothly could mean that future investment in CPEC projects could be blocked. At the heart of the matter is that government is not coming clean about the cost and the duration required for completing different CPEC projects. The government should lift the veil of secrecy and instead of feigning all is well, it should brief publicly the projects that have been completed, that has been delayed and that is still in the pipeline. This hullabaloo around the slow pace and growth of the CPEC projects and the secrecy that surrounds the project can be settled when information would be shared through the CPEC authority and ministry of communication along with liaison with the provinces since they are also stakeholders in the issue.

Climate change has implications for Pakistan at the national and international level but Pakistan's focus should be on both fronts so that it may avert the big crisis in the future. Pakistan has been a staunch supporter of efforts to mitigate climate change through collaboration with the international community and has reiterated its resolve to implement a mix of policy actions at the national level to protect its economy, livelihood and environment. It stands to lose tremendously if it ignores the elephant in the room and doesn't mitigate the change. It has to cater to its energy needs and tread a careful path with the help of coordinated and well-formulated policies to support its dwindling agriculture and industrial economy. It is not among the top robust climate diplomacy to leverage financial cooperation and investment opportunities to buttress go green economic policies.

A research and coordination framework is vital for Pakistan's spatially distributed institutions which can create an enabling environment for predicting weather change. Pakistan can reduce its carbon emissions by reducing its reliance on thermal and coal energy. It needs to increase its forest cover, repair and reclaim its depleted water reservoirs and canal irrigation systems, and invest in natural carbon sinks to absorb carbon emissions. Awareness campaigns, correct policy tools and integrated management are need of the hour if climate change needs to be leashed. It can make an arguable case to the world with its sincere efforts to ward off the destruction which has all the potential to push the country away from the path of development.

The nuclear arms race in South Asia can create a nightmare since US support of India to prop it up against China can create disturbance in the balance of power in the region and accelerate a nuclear arms race. The US brokered a nuclear plant deal with India worth \$10 billion to support its energy needs and gave India a waiver from the Nuclear Suppliers Group. Other than this deal, the conventional balance of power in the South Asian region has now tilted heavily in favour of India since it has a large army and Pakistan cannot match it in conventional warfare. Pakistan has stressed on various occasions that granting waivers to India in terms of conventional arms supply by the US would create more disturbance in the region and Pakistan will have to fall back on the development of more nuclear arms to match India's growing military power. Pakistan has called for a voluntary nuclear arms embargo and reduction in the nuclear stockpile so that the two neighbours can avert the catastrophe of an accidental nuclear war. Without ease in tensions and a let-up in acrimony between India and Pakistan, the horrible spectre of a nuclear arms race in the South Asia region cannot be wished away. Both countries need to meet regularly through the framework of SAARC, IAEA or any other sideline of the UN to prevent a nuclear arms race and move toward disarmament. However, without resolution of the Kashmir issue and other land disputes, there are few chances that any significant gains would be made to achieve the goal of reducing the prospects of a nuclear war.

Support for the Palestine cause is the cornerstone of Pakistan's foreign policy since it sees the occupation of Palestine land by Israel as no different from that of the Indian occupation of Kashmir. Pakistan is a staunch supporter of a two-state solution for the people of Palestine in the Israel-Palestine conflict. It has supported the right of return of Palestinians to their homeland and has advocated for peaceful coexistence between the two countries. It has principally supported decolonization, the right to self-determination and independence of all nations as per the dictats of international law. It has not officially recognized Israel on the principal grounds that it is forcefully occupying Palestinian lands. In the recent developments several Arab nations have officially accorded recognition to Israel and initiated diplomatic and trade relations with Israel, Pakistan has not abandoned its position on the Palestine issue. Pakistan has argued that any covert recognition to Israel would rob the Palestinians of the legitimacy which they have over their ancestral lands. Moreover, Pakistan sees it as capitulation and hypocrisy to ditch its diplomatic efforts for Palestinians and on the other hand vouch for a separate homeland for the people of Indian Occupied Kashmir in their struggle for independence from an illegitimate Indian rule.

Maintaining cordial relations with Arab countries and Iran are a challenge for Pakistan due to power politics being played out in the Gulf region. Hostility brews between the Arab nations and Iran due to competition for influence in Yemen and Bahrain as these two countries have a sizeable presence of Shi'ite Muslims. The war in Yemen has called into question Pakistan's neutrality on the issue since it doesn't want to become a supporter of any one country. Pakistan has time and again shown its willingness to mediate between two countries and has called for ease of tensions between the Arab countries and Iran. US sanctions against Iran and the support given by the US to Arab countries have divided the Gulf region into blocs. Pakistan has used its diplomatic channels prudently to defuse any simmering tensions between the Arab

countries and Iran. Balanced foreign relations are the need of the hour since Pakistan cannot afford to compromise on its national interest.

Participation in regional and international organizations has been the key interest area of Pakistan's foreign policy. Pakistan has always desired to build trust-based peaceful relations with regional countries and the global community. In the South Asian region, Pakistan is a member state of SAARC which has seen little cooperation in terms of trade, economic and social cooperation due to Indian intransigence. In its bid to make Pakistan a global pariah country, India has not shown any keen interest in using different chapters of SAARC to advance cooperation. Pakistan has observer status on ASEAN and it is a member of SCO. It has been participating along the sidelines of various summits to tap any potential opportunities in the field of strategic and economic cooperation. It can take benefit from these organisations if it can build an integrated business set-up that can help international businesses invest in Pakistan. Cementing socio-cultural ties can boost economic tourism in the country and cultural exchanges. Cooperation in the international community can be a golden opportunity for Pakistan.

Pakistan is a peaceful country and has participated in several UN-based peace missions time and again to demonstrate its credentials as a peaceful nation. Its army has participated in war games and conducted military exercises with several countries of the world. It has a large population to cater to and is a member of various UN programmes that have focused on diverse issues such as poverty, illiteracy, participation of women, eradication of polio, and provision of potable drinking water etc. Pakistan is an active member of the UN and it is committed to human rights, women empowerment, SDGs and UN peacekeeping missions. It has been a non-permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Pakistan has on various occasions called for the democratization of the veto-wielding power held by the five permanent members of the UNSC. It has also called for ending the practice of imposition of unilateral sanctions by individual countries and stressed that the matter may be routed through the UNSC forum.

The global economy is moving at a rapid pace to achieve digitization of economies of the world. Pakistan has taken the lead by integrating its economy at different levels via payment channels, automated teller machines, e-payment portals and small microfinance forums. The fact of the matter is that digital integration with the world will pave the way for the economic integration of Pakistan's public, social and political institutions. The digitization drive would make it easier to eliminate terror financing and grant more access to businesses to access payment portals, explore foreign markets, invest in stocks and scoop for more opportunities. Digitisation of the economy is in Pakistan's national interest and it is an external challenge since the sword of FATF still hangs on the country, and digitization and strengthening of laws related to money laundering would help ease pressure on the economy of Pakistan. Several digital payment portals have started eyeing investment in Pakistan. This opportunity can be used to help free e-lancers and encourage entrepreneurship. The process would attract more foreign exchange and help Pakistan remain economically afloat and build better linkages with the world community.

### (b) Internal Challenges

Terrorism and extremism have dug deep roots in Pakistan's society. Afghan war bred terrorism as one off-shoot of the Afghan Taliban emerged in Pakistan and started terrorist activities throughout the country that killed thousands of innocent people and security personnel. This terrorist off-shoot of the Afghan Taliban called itself Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan and it has had the explicit agenda to kill the political will in Pakistan so that the country should disassociate itself from the US-led war on terror. In its plan to kill and maim people it occupied vast swathes of erstwhile FATA region - now merged in KPK province - and made it a hotbed of terrorism. The country had to conduct a full-blown counter-insurgency and security operation in the North Waziristan agency and Swat region to clear these areas of terrorists. Apart from terrorism, there lies the menacing threat of religious-based extremism which often rears its head in the form of persecution of minorities and blockades by religious parties. In the past few years and the since the previous election conducted in 2018, Tehrik-e-Labbaik Pakistan (TLP) has emerged as a movement and political party - it secured the fourth highest votes in the elections without securing any mentionable representation to the national and provincial assemblies - that has frequently challenged the state writ and brought it to its knees each time it has blocked roads, injured scores of security personnel and destroyed properties worth billions. While peaceful protest is a constitutional right of the TLP, blocking roads and raising frivolous demands has led to violence and mayhem.

Pakistan can eradicate terrorism and extremism only if it recognizes the fact that they are homegrown due to overreliance on a convoluted religious doctrine meshed with security needs. The religious right has always been a handy grist for the *jihad* mills that subsequently became part of al-Qaeda and the Islamic State. For most of their part in history in the country, the religious parties and movements have been utilized by the security establishment to strengthen and legitimize its rule. The problem is that the country has nothing to offer its citizens other than religion. The resolution of the terrorism issue is complex and requires strenuous effort by the country. The mantra of the security establishment is that there are good Taliban and bad Taliban doesn't hold any water. The issue of terrorism can be addressed if the state apparatus and intelligentsia demonstrate unwavering resolve to uproot terrorism in all its forms without pandering to a few select splintered groups. Recently, there has been some chatter about offering amnesty to TTP if it lays down arms and renounces terrorism and violence. The state needs to remain firm in not conceding any space to the TTP until the group renounces its terrorist activities and is held accountable for its killings and bombings. It is an acknowledged reality that TTP poses a formidable threat to peace in the country and has implications for regional peace. Pakistan has also used its clout over the Afghan Taliban to force the leadership of TTP to renounce terrorism. There are serious concerns over the metamorphosis of TTP into a global terrorist organization on the same footings as Daesh and al-Qaeda. It seems ironic that despite the takeover of Afghanistan by the Taliban, the activities of TTP continue against Pakistan. There is an urgent need to neutralize this hydra-headed monster to protect the lives of people from terrorist activities.

Extremism has no space in Pakistani society but sadly political parties have often played cheap political games to make petty gains. Often political parties have fought proxy turf wars on insignificant issues by exploiting the religious sentiments of the far-right political parties and citizenry. The need of the hour is to apprise people about the pernicious effects of extremism in society and the loss incurred as a result of blockades and stoppages. The TLP fiasco is a perfect example of a movement propped to hound and delegitimize an elected government. Those who provoked the TLP into action have lost control over it. A society that is devoutly Islamic can hardly fathom violation of any precepts of Islam. There is a need to set up a truth and reconciliation commission that can bridge the gap between the state and the TLP so that the concerns of the latter are addressed and violence in any manifestation is rejected.

Pakistan's economy is its Achilles heels since it is beset with perennial problems of balance of payments, trade deficit, slow growth rate and lower business confidence. Predominantly Pakistan's economy is dependent on the services sector which constitutes 64 percent of the GDP of the country. Industrial manufacturing and Agriculture sector constitute only 19 and 18 percent of the GDP, respectively. The key problem with the economy of the country is that its growth is largely driven by import-based domestic consumption. The other regressive feature of the economy is its low utilization of manual labour in the agriculture and low skilled manufacturing sectors. The country produces less for exports and consumes more imports that creating the problem of trade deficit which reached an all-time high at \$11.5 billion during the first quarter of the financial year 2021-22. The ballooning trade deficit has led to the balance of payments crisis for which the country had to approach IMF for funding its current account deficit. The slow growth rate of the economy is due to the low rate of investment and savings in the economy and falling investments in small and medium businesses. Business confidence in the country is low due to myriad factors such as lower return on investments, lack of availability of cheap credit, delay in installation of utility connections, property-related issues, red tapism and delay in execution of contracts.

Pakistan needs to repair and stimulate its economy by taking decisions that can boost its trade, reduce the trade deficit and increase the capacity of its businesses so that the economy can innovate and flourish. The export base of the country is very narrow and it is hitched across textile, carpets, leather, chemicals and services. The country needs to produce more value-added products so that it can produce more exports than imports. Recently, Pakistan launched a domestic facility to produce smartphones that can be exported to different markets of the world. The systemic flaws in the economy can be removed by increasing exports, regional trade and reducing imports of luxury items. Pakistan has time and again approached IMF financing programmes to rescue its sinking economy. These IMF programmes have always placed stringent conditions on the growth of its GDP and slashed vital subsidies that government offers to the downtrodden and vulnerable segments of the country. Research has shown that there are hardly any long-term beneficiaries of the IMF programme in the long run. Apart from the IMF problem, integration and digitization of the economy are lagging far behind the rapidly developing countries of the world.

Pakistan's economic problems also emanate from its inability to generate more revenues than its expenses. Revenue generation by the Federal Board of Revenue (FBR) and provincial governments is troublesome and falls short of the targets assigned leading to deficits and more bank borrowing by the government. The shortfall in revenue stems from multiple unaddressed issues which plague the revenue bureaucracy. Some of the issues which haunt the working of revenue departments are staff shortage, lack of transparency in office procedures, inordinate delays in execution of tasks assigned, corruption, low morale of the working employees and shoddy policies. Successive reforms over the years have not led to improvement in revenue generation since they have either produced a toxic mix of half-baked automation or they have made large working tiers redundant. There are no in-built accountability mechanisms and oversight which can suggest changes or improve the culture of integrity in the revenue departments. Part of the problem lies with over-reliance on indirect taxes and withholding regimes which have made the job of the taxman easier but left the problem of a narrow tax base unaddressed. The state is clueless about the whereabouts of the money parked in the land a cash-based business.

Inflation is a huge problem that successive governments have been unable to resolve. Critics have described inflation as an additional tax apart from other statutory federal and provincial taxes that have to be borne by the people. There is no escape from inflation since fuel and food price changes affect all and sundry. The problem lies for the lower and middle-income classes who have to spend more than 50 percent of their monthly income on food and additionally on utility payments. Rapid depreciation in the value of rupee versus dollar, abrupt increase in fuel and energy prices, and overshooting cost of production have been major contributors to the spur in commodity prices. As per estimates of the SBP monthly inflation has been higher than 12 percent for the last few months. There are fears that if inflation keeps on rising at frequent intervals then many people would be pushed below the poverty line unable to meet their food and energy bills.

A carefully weighed and balanced strategy needs to be adopted to cope with the menace of inflation in Pakistan. Many analysts have opined that inflation may be one of the biggest reasons which have discredited the reputation and claims of governments that touted that the country was making economic progress. Previous governments controlled inflation by keeping the rupee artificially overvalued against the dollar and provided fuel and energy subsidies. Though this may have been a beneficial approach in the short-term it devoured precious foreign reserves of the country, and led to an import-led economy and frequent visits to the IMF for supporting the balance of payments crisis. Since the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic businesses across Pakistan came to a standstill due to lockdowns and restricted business hours. To give an impetus to business activity, State Bank lowered financing and investment rates. However, lower financing rates have recently led to inflationary measures due to the increased demand for domestic and imported goods. The government should follow one strategy to ban all luxury items and accessories to reduce its import bill. Transport should be made public for intra-city commute so that fuel consumption could be reduced. Government should think about increasing exports so that pressure on rupee is decreased and it gains strength versus dollar. Supply chain management should be prioritized so that any bottlenecks in the management of stocks could be controlled.

The survival of the state depends on the surplus generation of revenue and increasing it with time since expenses are increasing rapidly. FBR and revenue boards in provincial governments in subsequent years have been unable to expand their tax base and they need to act earnestly to achieve their targets by enacting reforms, using technology and using manpower judiciously. There are few profitable public limited companies listed on the stock exchange which can attract capital investment. One specific area where the revenue sleuths should focus is the undocumented property and land sector. In Pakistan, there are restricted areas and opportunities which have constrained the choices of investors. The responsibility of the revenue departments is to unearth all instances of tax evasion and avoidance by different sectors of the economy. They can do this task by increasing their capacity, identifying risk areas and taxpayers based on any information received which can help trace any transaction which has escaped taxation. Systemic institutional problems need the urgent attention of the state so that so that its federal revenue generation department FBR and other provincial revenue departments generate more revenue than the expenses made by the government.

Industrial development in Pakistan has been sub-optimal and lags in research and development. Most investment by the industrial élite has been made in consumption industries that cater to the needs of the domestic population. These industries include cement, paint, beverages, automobile, sugar, oil, ghee, electronics etc. The entire shape of the industry revolves around consumption and imports. Investment in innovative sectors of the industry suffers from constipation. Pakistan doesn't manufacture any high value-added goods. Skilled labour is scarce and there is a large untapped human talent in the industry. Pakistan's

industrial footprint over the years has not expanded beyond 18 percent of the GDP. Exports constitute only 9 percent of the GDP. For a country boasting large population numbers, it is an unspeakable tragedy if industrial development is put on hold. There is a tangible opportunity in the CPEC projects for Pakistan. Several energy, information technology and infrastructure-related projects would be launched which would enable the country to move ahead with its rapid industrialization.

Pakistan needs to use the private and public partnership of its institutions and companies so that it can attract Foreign Direct Investment which would enhance the capacity of its private sector, and would bring more skills, expertise and capital in the domestic sphere. It needs special vocational and training institutes to increase the capacity of its unskilled and semi-skilled workers to make them more employable in private sector jobs. Industry issues such as lack of skilled labour, opportunity to gain access to cheap credit, diminishing job prospects, and poor infrastructure development need urgent attention of the government. Investment and FDI have declined due to the uncertain security situation in Afghanistan. Ease of doing business and lack of integrated business management portals have sapped the potential of the economy and deflected potential investments. Pakistan needs to integrate its businesses and score higher on the business index portals. Its ease of doing business should be among the best in the world if it wants to increase trade and it also needs a secure investment and peaceful environment.

Pakistan is sitting on a population bomb. It may have built a atomic bomb to protect itself from foreign aggression but it faces the existential threat of population implosion. Rapid population increase and utilization of this large population as a precious human resource seem to be an insurmountable challenge for Pakistan. It is now the fifth most populous country in the world. It has a population of roughly 220 million people with an annual population growth of around 2 percent. It means that Pakistan adds roughly 4 million persons to its population every year. The gender divide in this population is nearly equal, having a 50.87 percent male and 49.17 percent female population. Given the issue of marginalization of the female gender population, mainstreaming and increasing the participation of this segment of the population should be the primary focus of the government. The issue of the rapid urbanization, migration to large cities has also gathered momentum in recent years. As more and more numbers pour into cities in search of opportunities, the urban population is now at 36.2 percent and the rural is 64.8 percent of the total population. This presents a number of challenges for governance, management, policy formulation and legislation.

Without placing tangible population controls in place Pakistan cannot expect to make headway progress. It needs to urgently arrest its population increase. It needs a mass contact campaign to monitor the population decrease along with several allied matters related to population explosion. Population control needs to be launched on a war footing through various campaigns in consultation with religious scholars, national and international NGOs. A comprehensive integrated approach that uses incentives, opportunities and legislation needs to be adopted. The first round of implementation awareness campaigns ought to be launched from door to door after profiling districts and areas having high fertility rates. It should be coupled with information on media, circulation in national and local newspaper dailies. The second round should contain specific targeted areas where these campaigns could be run as long as some tangible results are not achieved. The third round should aim to introduce legislation in the constitution to place some checks on population control and allow for restricted family size if approved after deliberations, consultations and consensus. Unbridled population expansion has exacerbated allied issues such as health, unemployment, disease control, literacy, food security, and housing concerns. Practically, it is not feasible to feed such a large population and provide it with decent living conditions. The state needs to put its act together to resolve its population conundrum.

Unemployment in Pakistan is troublesome on many scores since it doesn't give suitable opportunities to its youth to harness their potential and youth and their families are left gasping for financial sustenance which has become nerve-wracking due to inflation. Unemployment in the country is high and there are poor labour laws that don't guarantee decent employment prospects. The main reason for a high unemployment rate hovering around 9-10 percent of the population is the inability of the state and private sectors to add more jobs; and the large number of candidates which cannot be catered to. Sluggish economic growth rate and waning foreign direct investment have resulted in the creation of fewer jobs. Moreover, industrial expansion is not taking place in the country at a steady rate which means that without labour-intensive industries it would not be possible to absorb a huge chunk of unemployed labour. Long-term planning should have been made to make Pakistan a skilled labour exporting country to Europe, Japan and South America. Most of the skilled and semi-skilled labour is absorbed by the Gulf countries. Pakistan is surviving on the remittances sent by poor labourers back to their country.

The nature of employment also affects the job choices made by youth and people hailing from different financial backgrounds. Most private employment allows a bare minimum wage of Rs.16000-18000 a month which is hardly enough to eke out a decent sustainable living. The high cost of medical treatment, quality education and travel facilities have made survival unsustainable for most Pakistanis living on bare minimum wage. An effective labour survey, control and oversight institution looking after the private sector needs to be established so that it can give useful suggestions to improve the conditions of marginalized labour communities. This can be achieved if approved pension, family support, medical and accidental grants funds are launched by private sector companies to cater for the requirements of their employees.

Pakistan needs to increase its employment and apprenticeship plans so that it can impart vital survival skills to its untapped talent. It should also focus on revamping its labour laws so that corporate ethics and decision making improve pay and promotion prospects. Pakistan needs to realise that it needs the industrial sector because it lacks the wherewithal to impart quality instruction and skills to its human resource that can be recruited in the services sectors. The services sector requires highly skilled manpower and helps in providing value-added goods and services. To a large extent, the policies in Pakistan are not helpful for the industrial and services sectors which could ease the business environment and attract more foreign funding in the country consequently resulting in the creation of more jobs. Manufacturing firms face a whole lot of awful government regulations, litigation and slow approvals which makes the working environment abhorrible. The country needs to work on vocational and skilled training to make people more independent and opt for entrepreneurial enterprises. The private sector should be given the opportunity and a conducive environment to work, expand, generate more profits and jobs.

The health sector of Pakistan is in a dilapidated condition. It is overstressed, understaffed, financially mismanaged and lacks autonomy and fails to provide quality medical treatment. No wonder provision of adequate health facilities is pivotal to the policies of a country since they contribute significantly to the health of the population, ensure prosperity and even economic progress. A healthy population is more productive, earns more income and lives longer. To have sound health, a balanced diet, good hygienic habits, staying in a proper shelter and getting enough sleep are the basic requirements. It has been suggested in many studies that sound health and nutrition play a pivotal role in the socio-economic development of a country, whereas malnutrition and poor health are considered barriers to socio-economic development.

Poverty pervades Pakistan's society and it has sapped the potential of its people and blocked their growth to achieve their dreams and sustainable living. It is the bane of Pakistan's society, and the state needs a livid taxation system to increase its revenues and play the role of taxing the rich heavily and investing it in the poor. The state also needs to create more social safety nets in collaboration with public-private partnerships to reduce poverty and allied matters. Several research studies have suggested that Pakistan's major health issues spring from poverty, unhygienic living conditions, and the unavailability of potable drinking water. Communicable disease, malaria, dengue and waterborne diseases are the usual suspects which afflict poverty-ridden families.

A huge chunk of Pakistan's population, roughly estimated at 23 percent lives below the poverty line making it difficult for it to invest any money in health and make better use of opportunities that could be explored if they were not indigent. Poverty robs many a man from focusing on health-related issues. It needs considerable emphasis that human welfare directly depends on good health and is also one of the main components that determine income levels. Special focus is required for upgrading and strengthening primary and secondary healthcare facilities in the country. Embedded issues in the health sector need urgent attention and terminal issues should be resolved on a war footing.

Pakistan can resolve its health-related issues by spending more share of its GDP on health. This increase in spending should be coupled with financial and administrative autonomy for hospitals. The health programmes should focus more on prevention against disease and improve the availability of potable drinking water. Transparency in the health sector is missing since there are vast rackets linked with the pharma industry, medical equipment imports industry, and unscrupulous elements within the medical field which don't focus on health facilities. Machines and testing equipment are not taken care of, and doctors and paramedic staff fail to perform their duties as per schedule. An oversight team needs to be constituted in all medical facilities to improve the working of the hospitals. The issue of the private practice of the medical staff needs to be addressed since this area has been left neglected. The health services sector has evolved in the private sphere and speaks volumes about the failure of the public health system. The need of the hour is to make the public healthcare system more efficient and responsible.

The bureaucracy of any country is a compendium of integrated institutions responsible for the delivery of functions of the state. These public institutions are responsible for providing facilities and necessities for the people of the country. Regrettably in the case of Pakistan, over the years its bureaucracy has not performed well. Its writ has become almost non-existent and its power structures have been broken. Its accountability system has collapsed and it has failed to uproot corruption. The capacity of its employed individuals has declined which has consequently resulted in a decline in the capacity of these public institutes. Its working environment smacks of inordinate delays and poor feedback systems to improve its working conditions. An increase in population and a decline in staff has resulted in overworked and poor performing officials. Apart from these systemic and perennial problems, outdated rules and regulations have sapped the energies of these institutions to deliver any meaningful performance. Centralisation and concentration of power in the hands of the few have further resulted in the erosion of service delivery.

A concerted effort is needed to make public institutions responsible toward the people. The nature of Pakistan's public institutions is extractive and these institutes are not earnestly dedicated to improving the conditions of the people. These institutions support a harsh and unsympathetic status quo that is based on exploitation and servitude fixated in a colonial era. The urgent action that should be taken is to introduce reforms in public institutions so that they could work efficiently. These reforms should consider replacing archaic rules with modern rules; improving productivity and output of staff; attaching emoluments and pay raise with the achievement of targets, and improving transparency and reducing corruption in the system; reducing any room for discretion and centralization. These public institutes need to be run like modern multinational companies which have an embedded culture of automation and requisite utilization of staff. Human resource is the most important asset of any organization and in public institutions, this resource is wasted. Regular training programmes and refresher courses should be conducted so that capacity of the human resource is enhanced.

Pakistan's energy crisis has improved in the last decade with the installation of several new thermal power plants and hydroelectric projects. The power outages in rural areas dropped from 12-15 hours a day to 7-9 hours a day and in urban areas from 4-5 hours a day to 2-3 hours. However, this improvement in overcoming the energy crisis has been achieved at a significant cost since successive governments relied on producing dirty energy from thermal and gas sources. There has been an utter failure to diversify the energy mix and generate energy from clean sources. Resultantly, electricity has become expensive and there have been regular hikes in price which has made it unaffordable during the summer season. The energy sector faces the stern challenge of a costly generation, skewed distribution, line losses, power theft, and financial malfeasance. The power bureaucracy is etched in the past and it has not learnt to evolve on modern lines. Distribution companies have been resisting privatization because these are government entities without any concern for the financial and systemic losses incurred on annual basis. However, this position of the distribution companies is untenable since several distribution companies have private stakes in them and government should ensure on a war footing that these power distribution companies won't keep on posting losses indefinitely.

Pakistan's energy needs need to be systematized and streamlined with a specific focus on reducing the cost of generation and removing issues embedded in the generation, transmission and distribution stages. Energy reforms should cater to diversified sources of energy generation which cater to lower emissions of carbon dioxide and reduced reliance on fossil fuels. Green energy development is being adopted worldwide to make the availability of energy cheap, cleaner and affordable in the long run. Pakistan has yet to extricate itself from the clutches of thermal power generation. It has to opt for solar, wind and hydro-electric generation to make energy cheaper. Since Pakistan has been embroiled in IMF financing plans, it routinely faces the strenuous task of reducing power sector losses and energy theft by increasing energy tariffs and phasing out subsidies at the behest of IMF. Any spike in energy tariffs and fuel adjustment charges adds to inflation and higher cost of production and breaks the bone of ordinary low-end consumers. The crisis in the energy sector can be averted if the energy sector uses worldwide support to adopt clean generation. Under the auspices of the UN, several funds have been created which financially and technically support developing countries in enhancing their energy production and adopting clean measures to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. Privatization of distribution companies would introduce more efficiency, reduce the financial burden of the national exchequer and improve employment prospects.

The energy crisis has been exacerbated by the circular debt prevailing in the power sector since the government is unable to pay independent power producers (IPPs) their share of capacity payments.

Agreements were made with the IPPs at the time when the country was energy-starved and several compromises were made to rope in potential investors. There is a need to revisit the circular debt which is largely in inter-corporation debt which results from the government failing to pay to IPPs and coercing state-owned suppliers of fuel to purchase more and more fuel on credit. IMF has categorically directed Pakistan to reduce circular debt by paying the IPPs their share of capacity payments. The problem lies with the state's inability to generate enough revenue to make capacity payments on the stipulated time. There seems no way around the circular debt crisis as long as the government revokes contractual obligations.

The IPP agreements have been made at throwaway prices and there is an urgent need to revisit these agreements. Lately, agreements were again revived with the IPPs since the government had no choice to abandon the agreements and face an energy shortage. This doesn't bode well for the resolution of the circular debt crisis. Moreover, the terms and agreements made with the IPPs have not been made public and they remain shrouded in mystery. Even if these IPPs don't produce any electricity, the government would still be under an obligation to pay them their share of capacity payments. It seems to be a dangerous prospect for the country's survival and finances while it is committed to an IMF financing plan.

Water issues stem from mismanagement as Pakistan faces water shortage, water stress, waterlogging, and a decrease in the per capita availability of water. As per estimates of some independent think-tanks, Pakistan's water economy alone accounts for more than \$60 billion. Rivers and canals irrigate the length and breadth of Pakistan's fields. Water is the lifeline of the agriculture sector since the economy depends heavily on water. As per official estimates, more than 80 percent of water is used for agriculture, 12 percent for industry and 8 percent for domestic consumption. No wonder then that water is a precious resource and agriculture and industry depend heavily on the availability of water resources. Due to changes in weather patterns, erratic rainfall, higher temperature, massive rural to urban migration several water-related issues have cropped up. Meanwhile, provincial irrigation departments have receded into complacency and failed to reinvigorate a dilapidated water irrigation system. There exists a turf war between the federal government and provincial governments over the distribution of water as per the 1991 water accord. Sindh has vociferously rejected any revisit or change in the water share on the premise that any new agreement would compromise the share of Sindh.

The water crisis of the country needs to be resolved to realize a robust growth of industry and agriculture in Pakistan. As per warnings by the UN chapter on climate change, Pakistan is among the top affected by climate change and it is going to be the eighth most water-stressed country in the world. Its glaciers are threatened due to high temperatures and melting ice sheets. There are serious fears as some research studies by UN and some think tanks have suggested that the country would initially be inundated by floods and melting glaciers and, thereafter, suffer from extreme water shortages. If such an eventuality occurs then it would be doomsday for the country. The country can't afford to sleep over the crisis. Therefore, provincial irrigation departments should take the lead and plan for efficient storage and transportation of water. Old canals should be repaired and water reservoirs should be built in cities that are facing water shortages. New crop varieties should be researched introduced which absorb lesser water and have a better yield. Awareness campaigns should be initiated to apprise the water situation across the country. New research institutes exclusively dedicated to study climate, agriculture and crop technology should be established which focus on crops rotation and usage of water. Rural to urban migration and rapid urbanization has created water emergency in the urban areas. There is a need to build more waterways and reservoirs in urban centres and limit the movement of the population. Any accord on water distribution with the provinces should be made strictly based on consensus. It needs to be borne in mind that water discord can seriously undermine provincial harmony and can pit the provinces against the federation or each other.

Pakistan needs to improve its education sector and come up with a robust reform system to tackle the problems in the education sector through reform. The education sector smacks of trouble, poor quality of education, outdated education system, low-quality books, teacher training issues, absenteeism, and over-centralization. Provincial education departments are the biggest bureaucracies in the system but they lack efficiency and service delivery. Among the big issues in the education sector is the disparity between the enrolment of female students and learning outcomes in general. The present government of PTI has tried to end the apartheid in the education system by abolishing different education systems such as private, public and seminary and opting for a single national curriculum. There has been severe criticism of the single national curriculum because despite several claims the PTI government ignored girls' education and didn't do anything for the removal of other systemic flaws in the education system. There has been no debate over the use of financial funds in the system and the accountability which should guarantee discharge of duties as per law. The

issue of ghost schools and teachers remains unresolved and no reports have seen daylight that examines the productivity and increases in enrolment and literacy of select areas.

The right way forward to reform and build the education sector of the country is to improve governance in the education sector by targeting specific areas and then capitalizing on the gains made at a time. Issues should be prioritized so that action could become more meaningful. Government teachers are better paid as compared to most private school teachers. There is a need to motivate this working force. Mapping of the district, tehsil and local council should be done to identify the number of school going male and female children and enumerate the prevalent literacy rate at those schools. Redundant staff should be relieved and no recruitments should be made on a political basis. Regular refresher and training courses should be offered to build the capacity of teachers. The issue of a single national curriculum is contentious but it has some merits. Instead of its blanket implementation, there should be pilot projects that should determine the viability of these initiatives. Transparency and accountability should be accorded high priority. There isn't just a lack of funds which lead to poor performance of government schools. Exploitative mafias in the education sector and large lobbies have held the process of reform hostage. A host of the textbook board, recruitment and monitoring agency issues haunt the sector which warrants serious attention.

Corruption has infiltrated official corridors; it is rampant and operates hand in glove with the private sector. There is a need to look at this socio-economic malaise with a new niche. It is the effect of the breakdown of accountability processes in public institutions and the abuse of discretion and power. Some scholars have also attributed corruption as a new form of distribution of wealth when the state fails to tax the rich, prevent accumulation of wealth by the rich and doesn't afford the poor to make a decent living. It is one of the most controversial socio-economic problems that have been haunting Pakistan since its creation. It was and is still viewed as the greatest threat to the democratic process and the economy. It has often been used as a scapegoat to discredit elected representatives and has often been used as a ruse to single out the official who falls out in support. It remains the most potent weapon when political point-scoring is on the rise. Opportunists have dislodged their opponents by hurling accusations of abuse of public office or taking kickbacks. Historically, the country has seen many accountability campaigns to uproot corruption in the past. Somehow a concerted effort has not been made at understanding the root cause of corruption. It is hypothesized that corruption exists in the domain of a large unbridled undocumented informal cash economy.

Successive governments have failed to work on the performance of corruption watchdogs and the issue of accountability has remained a pipe dream so far. More than often accountability process is used to hound opposition members to maim and intimidate them. The selective nature of the accountability process has not improved the prospects to nab any corrupt officials. The problem with not tackling corruption is that in the long run it weakens the foundations of public institutes, reduces the writ of the state and inflicts heavy financial losses to the national exchequer. There exist anti-corruption departments in all provinces of the country but seldom has been the case when they have been seen in action. After the 18th Amendment to the constitution most institutions responsible for delivering governance fall in the domain of provinces. It is an astonishing to see that there are hardly any indictments or prosecutions on the charges of corruption. It is an appropriate time to invest in provincial corruption watch-dogs and keep the process of accountability impartial. Political maligning and witch-hunt should be avoided so that anyone crying foul about the accountability process can be given a befitting reply. As regards the use of corrupt practices to accumulate wealth, the state can use a lot of policy options available to it to oversee the actions of people who have been entrusted with power. Elimination of the cash economy will certainly end the menace of corruption.

Pakistan needs to overcome its political challenges so that it could focus on more pressing issues. One thing that holds Pakistan particularly back among the comity of nations is its continuous uncivilized attitude towards democracy. Democratic norms are shallow in the country and there exists a palpable contempt for giving effective powers to the local governments. Dynastic politics and support from the industrial elites have hampered the development of the democratic process. The entire democratic process is heavily tilted in favour of power and accumulation of wealth. Since accountability is the hallmark of any fair democratic dispensation, political parties have become teeming competition of trading barbs, bickering and allegations between the government and the opposition parties. Instead of building and strengthening democratic norms and public institutions, successive governments have shied away from taking the bull by the horns. Political expediency and point scoring have stifled fair play in the political arena and prevented the growth of a civilized political process. The other big casualty of contemptuous political power-play is the failure of the reconciliation process between

the government and opposition parties. The incumbent government has spared no opportunity to malign the institution of the Election Commission of Pakistan (ECP) alleging that it had a dubious role in rigging elections. An institution that acts as a pillar to safeguard the democratic process should have the trust of all political powers irrespective of them being in power or not.

Pakistan's democracy is nascent and shorn of any coveted democratic norms. The country remained under direct military rule for more than 35 years of its independence. Many political parties in the past have colluded with the security establishment to rise to power or sideline their political opponents only to become favourites. Moreover, those political parties which didn't seek approval of the security establishment saw their favourites. Over the years, political parties have matured but only to serve their self-interest. There are no regular intra-party elections or changes to party leadership. One-upmanship or dynastic leadership is still widely prevalent in the political culture. The independence of parliamentary institutions and interest in the legislative process are ignored at will. Rule and legislation through ordinances are still a wide practice. Disregarding the mandate of the population and sidelining the valuable input of their elected representatives create distrust of the entire political process.

A vitiated political process can never breed sustainable democratic norms. Political parties need to shun politics of bickering, mudslinging and power-play. Strengthening of democratic institutions and introduction of democracy at the local government level should be the top priority of any political party in the saddle of power. ECP needs to be strengthened and all political parties should participate in the appointment of board members to the ECP through consensus. The political process should be made more tolerant and the accountability process should not be used as a tool for victimization. Any undemocratic help sought from the security establishment should be shunned and a loud message should be sent that no one should try to play favourites with the security establishment. Intra-party elections in political parties need to be introduced and new leadership should be given way so that young blood with values is injected into the politics of the country.

Rule of law in Pakistan is elusive since there is a conspicuous distinction between laws for the rich and the poor. It is a rare commodity in Pakistan and is available only to the strong as the indigent and marginalized find no sympathy in a power-centric exploitative society. Over the years writ of the state has eroded and state functionaries seldom sincerely discharge their responsibilities. The judicial and litigation system of the country is overburdened with inordinate delays and the high cost of litigation. Lower courts are vulnerable to several sorts of political, social and religious influences which makes a mockery of the dispensation of justice. Public institutions have little tolerance for the implementation of rules and regulations and they never go by the book. There is widespread ad hocism in the working of government departments which is a bad telling on their part since their working is marred by politicization, corruption and incompetence. Large mafias, cartels and lobbies have made inroads in official corridors and stifled the capacity of the government to make justice readily available to ordinary people of the country. Rule of law leads to governance which is nowhere to be seen. People have lost their trust in the judicial process and judiciary since endless delays and arm-twisting tactics by the powerful lobbies siphon little patience and trust left behind.

Rule of law needs to be ensured across the board in Pakistan since the fate of the Pakistani population is intrinsically connected to the dispensation of speedy justice. Regrettably, ensuring and enacting rule of law in the country has not been the priority of any government. Once a political party has formed a government it feels as if rule of law will dilute its power. Independence and autonomy of institutions lead to rule of law in society. Despite noisy rhetoric, that rule of law would be implemented in a matter of time successive governments started making compromises and shied away from the responsibility of reforming public institutions. Judiciary should be strengthened by giving judges authority, autonomy and a conducive environment to make decisions based on merit. Independence of the bar should be made a linchpin of the legal justice system, with judicial reforms, change in laws through regular amendments and upgrades. Public institutions in the country should revisit their rules and regulations and make them easy for ordinary people to understand.

Pakistan is an information opaque society where little is known about the operation of government functionaries and their job descriptions. Little wonder then that genuine grievance of the people against any sins of omission or commission are lost in myriad labyrinths of rules and regulations. Rule of law ensures transparency and the first step to imbibe a culture where law and order take firm roots is to make public officials more accessible for people. There is also a need to work on the capacity development of government staff and produce a narrative that would help build a trust relationship between the state officials and citizenry.

Pakistan faces acute vulnerability in terms of food security and sustainable provision of food to a large population. An uncontrolled increase in population has increased the number of mouths to feed. Food security

is a serious concern since the country is facing the wrath of climate change, dwindling water reserves and poor planning of government departments. Crop failures, changing weather patterns, droughts and erratic rainfalls have decreased the yield of different crops. Dwindling water reserves have the potential to further decrease the agricultural input since climate change is now wreaking havoc across the country. An increase in prices of agricultural inputs such as pesticides, fertilizers, seeds, etc. have made it difficult for the ordinary farmer to go earn a sustainable living. Weak writ of the state has emaciated the power of the state to manage food supply chains. Despite growth in the agriculture sector, there has not been a corresponding increase in food abundance. It is a stunning indictment that the country has a large agriculture sector but it is forced to import sugar, wheat, cotton and palm oil. Food insecurity is more prevalent among the female population as compared to the male population due to cultural and patriarchal stigmas. It is an open secret that there exists an inherent bias in the system wherein women are prevented from participating in different fields.

Pakistan needs to focus on its food security issue since it has to contest battles against two odds: first, it has to feed a large population; second, it has to dedicate a portion of its agriculture toward cash crops intended for the production of value-added products suitable for domestic consumption and exports. The food security issue needs to be addressed at multiple steps so that there are ample solutions available to the state to fight any untoward food emergency. Two issues stand out which require management at the end of provincial food and transport departments: Supply chain management and transport from production areas to main markets; and the control of the middle man for procurement when the government announces food support prices. At these two stages verification of stocks should be handed over to a responsible authority. To produce surplus food supplies, there is a pressing need to upgrade the existing agriculture infrastructure such as support canals, main waterways, link canals and water storage. Necessary machinery should be provided at subsidized rates which would include tubewells, tractors, thrashers, etc. There should be a focus on reducing the price of farm inputs like fertilizers, seeds, insecticides by allowing subsidies. Agriculture universities should be engaged to provide research and development support to increase yield per acre through the use of new varieties of seeds that use lesser water. Innovative ideas should be used through crop rotation, hybrid seeds, water-saving techniques and the use of excessive moisture in the monsoon season to increase farm output for the local farmer. Distribution of food in case of any calamitous shortage should be prioritized based on lesser severity. Special attention should be made to the removal of food disparity between the male and female populations of the country.

Provincial autonomy needs to be followed in letter and spirit and any indications that the 18th amendment can be reversed should be immediately scrapped. In the wake of increasing debt servicing loans taken from banks and other profitable institutions by the PTI federal government to fill the revenue deficit as the fiscal deficit worsened, the news is making rounds that one specific feature of the collection of revenue by the provinces vide the 18th Amendment could be done away with. The main reason forwarded was that the federal government has to borrow debt at a high cost to fill the gap of revenue loss which is generated by the provinces since they are unable to meet their budgetary targets. The other reason was that the federal government has monitored and collected taxes for the entire federation for more than 60 years, therefore, it has better expertise and framework which can help in the collection of taxes. A second reason for usurping the revenue collection power of provinces is that they have been unable to broaden the tax base and shoulder the burden of the collection of taxes. The approach adopted by the government to take revenue measures away from the provinces is conservative and lopsided since provincial autonomy is intrinsically tied with the independence to collect revenue within the provincial borders. Moreover, the failure by the federal government to have enough revenue is on its part due to FBR missing its targets and the additional role assumed by the federation in dedicating funds for national development on its own. The issue of less collection of revenue and debt servicing would haunt the federal government unless it revamps and reforms the FBR and keeps committed to nation-building through its resources other than the provincial contributions.

Some of the challenges to the 18th Amendment have been spawned by the somewhat hasty transition to a decentralised federal structure. Several spaces have been left a void where there has been a near-complete absence of provincial and lower-tier government capacities to take on the newly-assigned responsibilities. Lack of trained staff, resources and supporting infrastructure to carry out the newly-assigned functions has resulted in paralysis in the delivery of many services and administrative functions by the devolved tier of government. An additional challenge has been that in the post-18th amendment scenario, policy coordination issues have been amplified between the federal government and the provincial governments. While previously a major governance concern was resolving coordination failure among federal ministries and agencies (horizontally), post-18th Amendment coordination has to occur between the centre and the agencies and

departments of four federating units plus AJK and GB. In some cases, such as ratification of an amendment to or implementation of international treaties and obligations, the abolishment of the Concurrent List lead to challenges and difficulties as the executive arm of the federal government couldn't dictate the legislative functions of the provinces. A major area in which the policy framework has become disjointed and disconnected is tax policy. With the clear demarcation of revenue assignment, each province has set up an autonomous revenue authority. Unfortunately, the absence of an overarching policy framework or better coordinating mechanism has led to the same tax base being subjected to multiple taxations across provinces, as well as difficulties in obtaining sales tax refunds. It is also likely to induce a race to the bottom competition among provinces to attract "mobile" tax bases.

The federal government should be focused on giving the provinces their share of resources and upholding provincial autonomy. Politics should remain the focus of the areas where there are common grounds for dissent within the parameters defined by the law. The constitutional spirit of provincial autonomy should not be disturbed only for the sake of raking more revenue by the federal government. Although it may seem too far-fetched that doing away with the 18th Amendment would tear up the federation but it is much clear that it would create a deep rift between the federal and provincial governments. It is incumbent upon any government to strengthen the federation and ensure provincial autonomy. For this to happen a conducive environment is required where political matters are discussed and political solutions are probed.

Pakistan faces mounting challenges at internal and external fronts which warrant immediate attention. Its external challenges have put it in a vulnerable position among the nations of the world. It has bilateral outstanding land disputes with its neighbour India on the eastern border and a festering cross border terrorism instability with its neighbour Afghanistan on the western border. Its frosty relations with the US and the European Union are hanging from a thread since there exists a widespread distrust between them and a poor human rights track record further embitters the relations. It is a reliable ally of China and has brokered several strategic and economic uplift projects including the CPEC. On the internal front, it needs to cater to its faltering economy and declining state institutions. Its politics is mired in controversies with pitched battles against the ruling and opposing parties vitiated further by the role of the military establishment. It has failed to address its rapid population expansion, poverty alleviation, education improvement, and food security issues. Inflation is inflicting a heavy toll on the survival of the lower and middle classes as prices of food and fuel skyrocket. It needs to initiate reforms in the public sector organizations to eradicate corruption and spawn a culture of transparency and accomplishment of goals to achieve good governance. It needs to keep intact the spirit of the federation and allow provinces the benefit of the 18th Amendment. It has a long way to go before it can usher promised development and viable survival of the population.

## PRACTICE ESSAYS

(1)

### Insurgency and Security Threats in Balochistan

#### Pose a Serious Threat to National Security

##### OUTLINE

- Introduction
- Balochistan security crisis and insurgency casts ominous clouds on the peace situation and the progress of the most backward province of the country
- Factors responsible for the insurgency in Balochistan:
  - Aspirations of Baloch leaders have been ignored over years and their national struggle has been construed as struggle for separation and independence from Pakistan
  - Demands of the people of Balochistan for political autonomy and a fair share of federal resources were not fulfilled
  - Lack of economic and education opportunities have ignored the development of the province and excluded the persons from participating in mainstream economic, social and political process
  - Poverty, hunger, lack of job opportunities have left people in lurch and deprived them of their control over their resource rich province
  - Political alienation and lack of participation in political process, decision making, businesses and corporate sector has hampered the capabilities of the Baloch youth
  - Military operations, disappeared persons and victimization of Baloch political leadership have moved them toward militancy
  - Porous border with Afghanistan and Iran has led to many international extremists and terrorists slip in Pakistan which have joined Baloch insurgents to create security situation
  - India-Pakistan bilateral conflict has led to Indian machinations on Pakistani soil which in turn has used disgruntled Baloch insurgents to destabilize Pakistan
  - Afghanistan fallout has led to TTP and other militants belonging to Islamic state to find safe havens in Balochistan and to sabotage CPEC project and create panic and fear among the security establishment
  - Regional geopolitics and rivalries too play a major role in fuelling the Baloch insurgency
  - The Balochistan area has long been a hotspot of regional power games and the recent launch of CPEC and the development of the Gwadar port has further intensified the conflict
- Latest situation of security in Balochistan and action required of the state:
  - Coordinated assaults on security posts in Balochistan marked a shift in the strategy of Baloch insurgent groups — from hit-and-run operations to frontal attacks
  - Growing capacity of the Baloch militants to launch high-profile attacks, better trained and better armed now, with highly sophisticated weapons in their armoury
  - Increase in ferocity and frequency of attacks possible due to a strong internal and external support network
  - There are reports that various factions of Baloch militant groups are coming together to give a befitting reply to the state against their neglected demands
  - Surge in militant activities in Balochistan has coincided with the escalation in terrorist attacks by the TTP that is targeting Pakistani security forces in the former tribal areas
  - There are news that the Baloch insurgents are operating from the Afghan soil whereas the TTP are also taking refuge despite a clear pledge given by the Afghan Taliban that their soil would not be used to sabotage or launch attack on any country

- (i) Fragile security situation in Afghanistan is dangerous for peace in Pakistan and especially its estranged province
- (ii) TTP and Baloch insurgents have completely different agendas as the former wants Pakistan to implement a specific ideology model in the country whereas the latter wants to take revenge on the state for neglecting its plight, reducing it to economic and political naught
- (iii) A steep rise in militant violence after the return of Taliban rule in Afghanistan last August, and Indian role cannot be discounted
- (c) Way forward to achieve peace in the Balochistan region:
  - (i) There are genuine fears that the tactical cooperation between the TTP and Baloch militant groups needs to be broken so that peace can be achieved
  - (ii) Better job opportunities, right of the Baloch people on their resources should be accepted by giving them royalties and increased share from the federal divisible pool
  - (iii) A political reconciliation process based on the participation of Baloch youth in the mainstream politics, economy and society needs to be started immediately
  - (iv) Disappeared persons issue should be addressed on a war footing so that people may meet their loved ones
  - (v) Burners and other stop-search facilities should be minimized in the province so that people don't face difficulty and humiliation in movement
  - (vi) Baloch nationalists and moderate leaders should be engaged along with other Baloch leaders living in exile so that they may take the reins of controlling their power and prestige in the society
  - (vii) Extrajudicial killings and the illegal detention of political activists by the intelligence agencies should stop forthwith
  - (viii) Genuine political grievances of the population of Balochistan to be addressed by granting political autonomy and financial independence
  - (ix) Efforts should be made to win the confidence of the Baloch people by responding to their concerns
- (d) Conclusion

## (2)

### The Status of Kashmir in the Backdrop of Abrogation of its Special Status by India and Options for Pakistan

#### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) History of articles 370 and 35A
  - (i) Articles 370
    - Article 370 basis of Jammu and Kashmir's (princely state) accession to the Indian Union after India and Pakistan obtained independence from British rule in 1947
    - Article 370 came into effect in 1949, gave Indian Kashmir its special constitutional status (exempts Jammu and Kashmir state from the Indian constitution)
    - Article 370 established a separate constitution, a separate flag, and categorically denied property rights in the region to the non-natives
    - Non-natives living in the Indian-occupied Kashmir not holding its domicile cannot purchase property in Indian-held Kashmir
    - Indian government not allowed to change territorial boundaries of Indian-held Kashmir
    - Disrespecting Indian flag and other Indian national symbols not a crime in Indian-held Kashmir
    - Residents of the Indian-held Kashmir state live under different laws from the rest of the country in matters such as property ownership and citizenship

- Article 370 allows the Indian-held Kashmir assembly to make its own laws
- Indian-held Kashmir assembly to make laws on all issues except finance, defence, foreign affairs and communications
- Laws applicable in India not enforceable in Indian-held Kashmir
- Indian Supreme Court didn't enjoy appellate jurisdiction over Indian-held Kashmir
- (ii) Article 35A
  - Introduced through a presidential order in 1954 to continue the old provisions of the territory regulations under Article 370 of the Indian constitution
  - Article 35A allows the local legislature in Indian-administered Kashmir to define permanent residents of the region
  - Article 35A forbids outsiders from permanently settling, buying land, holding local government jobs or winning education scholarships in the region
  - Article 35A (referred to as the Permanent Residents Law) bars female residents of Indian-held Kashmir from property rights in the event that they marry a person from outside the state. The provision also extends to such women's children
- (c) Why Indian government abrogated articles 370 and 35A?
  - (i) Agenda of RSS-led BJP nationalist government to win Hindu voter support
  - (ii) nefarious design of RSS and BJP to advance the Hindutva ideology and make India a Hindu nation and withdraw its secular status
  - (iii) BJP's effort to discredit Nehru and Indian Congress party since articles 370 and 35A were brainchild of Nehru
  - (iv) BJP effort to dent political rival Indian Congress party and blame it for mishandling of the J&K issue
  - (v) BJP stance taken to abrogate articles 370 and 35A citing that they were temporary arrangements and stumbling blocks in the resolution of J&K issue
  - (vi) BJP stance to abrogate special status of Indian-held Kashmir under articles 370 and 35A to integrate Muslim population of Indian-held Kashmir in mainstream India
  - (vii) Articles 370 and 35A abrogated to encourage industrialization of J&K
- (d) Policy options for Pakistan as a result of revocation of articles 370 and 35A
  - (i) Change in demography of Indian-held Kashmir would bring outsiders
  - (ii) Muslim population of Indian-held Kashmir would not get their right to self-determination
  - (iii) UN-sponsored plebiscite possible only if special status of Indian-held Kashmir remained intact
  - (iv) Pakistan maintained special status of Azad Kashmir as per international conventions and its resolve to solve the Kashmir issue
  - (v) Use of diplomacy in UNSC to raise awareness regarding usurpation of rights of Kashmiri people and illegal occupation of their land
  - (vi) Stating Pakistan's position unequivocally that it wants resolution of Kashmir issue as per UNSC resolutions and through dialogue
  - (vii) Use of UN, EU and WEF forums to raise awareness about Kashmir cause and Indian atrocities
  - (viii) Use of OIC to condemn Indian aggression and unlawful revocation of articles 370 and 35A
- (e) Conclusion

(3)

## Human Resource Development is the Key to the Progress and Prosperity of any Country

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Pakistan has not utilized potential of its human resource
- (c) Issues in human resource development
  - (i) Budgetary allocation to education less than 2 percent of GDP
  - (ii) Majority of education budget allocated to salaries and pensions of teachers
  - (iii) Widespread illiteracy among population
  - (iv) Illiteracy widespread in rural areas
  - (v) Poor education standards and outdated curriculum
  - (vi) Learning and teaching methodology devoid of creative thinking
  - (vii) Lack of educational facilities in schools
  - (viii) Lack of investment in science, technology, well equipped laboratories and research
  - (ix) Lack of technical education and skill-based training
  - (x) Poverty, lack of opportunity, insufficient support from government
  - (xi) Poor capacity building of teachers
  - (xii) Low priority given to development of human resource, trainings, learning programmes and cognitive development
  - (xiii) Importance accorded to infrastructure development and communication development
- (d) Initiatives to develop human resource
  - (i) Investment in human development to build human resource by investing in education, training and refresher courses
  - (ii) Spending more share of GDP on education, research and skill-based training
  - (iii) Removal of regional disparities in addressing illiteracy at rural and urban level, improve education standards and increase equal participation of males and females
  - (iv) Provide scholarship opportunities to unprivileged and backward classes to ensure their participation
  - (v) Use of education, skill trainings, employment opportunities to engage and equip population to enhance their skills
  - (vi) Reinvigorating provincial higher education commissions to engage students in higher education and research
  - (vii) Revamp education system which is focused on concept development and investigative studies
  - (viii) Ensure capacity building of teachers and training staff
  - (ix) Make a judicious use of free online educational resources to develop concepts and understanding
  - (x) Revise curriculum to enhance its quality and make learning process more interactive
  - (xi) Revisit educational models, rethink new changes and redesign student engagement rules to make learning an enjoyable journey
  - (xii) Prevent brain drain to developed countries by attracting students, professionals and academics and offer them better incentives
  - (xiii) Collaborate with industry to build liaison with academia and researchers to create new technology
  - (xiv) Initiate capacity building and human resource development across government tiers through an incremental process
  - (xv) Revitalise recruitment process to select a diverse sample of eligible persons and then use rigorous training to build capacity
  - (xvi) Use of feedback and performance appraisal to keep track of learning
  - (xvii) Devise tests to measure scale of human resource development across different tiers of the population
  - (xviii) Use targeted intervention to maintain a balance in human resource development so that people from marginalised classes are not neglected
- (e) Conclusion

(4)

## 74 Years of Pakistan: the Dreams and the Realities?

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Country founded on the ideals of:
  - (i) Enabling conditions for a democratic dispensation fully empowered by people and their representatives
  - (ii) Supremacy of the constitution and ensuring of rule of law
  - (iii) Fundamental rights to all citizens of the State irrespective of their majority or minority status
  - (iv) Social and economic development for unprivileged and marginalized segments of the population
  - (v) Elimination of discrimination and subjugation of people on the base of caste, creed and religion
  - (vi) Eradication of poverty in rural areas and struggle to ameliorate working conditions of agricultural class
  - (vii) Education and employment opportunities to people across the board so that ideals of economic and social development could be translated into action
  - (viii) Improvement in governance by making institutions responsible for their actions and receptive to the issues of population
  - (ix) Economic development through rapid industrialization, improvement in agriculture sector and support for the services sector
  - (x) Impartial civil service to implement policies of government without taking pressure from any quarter or politicization of civil service
  - (xi) Women empowerment to enable them to realize their potential and contribute in all walks of life
  - (xii) Frame of an independent foreign policy which could serve the national interests of the country
  - (xiii) Freedom of speech so that government is held accountable for its actions
  - (xiv) Establishment of an impartial accountability institution which can act as a watchdog
- (c) Realities
  - (i) Democracy embroiled in political tug of war, weak democratic institutions and lack of trust in political dispensations
  - (ii) Rule of law a far cry. Difficulty in upholding the supremacy of the constitution
  - (iii) Failure of successive governments to provide fundamental rights to all citizens of the state irrespective of their majority or minority status
  - (iv) Uneven social and economic development has resulted in concentration of wealth and creation of capitalist class. Issues of unprivileged and marginalized segments of the population have been ignored
  - (v) State has been unable to eliminate discrimination and subjugation of people on the base of caste, creed and religion
  - (vi) Some improvement has been made in alleviation of poverty in rural and urban areas
  - (vii) Regrettably education and employment opportunities have not reached across the board
  - (viii) There has been constant decay in governance because institutions have not been made responsible for their actions and receptive to the issues of population
  - (ix) There has been some economic development through industrialization, agriculture sector and services sector but it remains far from satisfactory
  - (x) Impartiality and morale of civil service has been compromised and politicization has increased
  - (xi) Women empowerment has not been achieved and cultural and societal norms still lay restrictions on women and they have been unable to realize their potential and contribute in all walks of life
  - (xii) Country has not been able to pursue an independent foreign policy which could serve the national interests of the country
  - (xiii) Space and tolerance for freedom of speech is shrinking
  - (xiv) Establishment of an impartial accountability institution remains a pipe dream
- (d) Conclusion

(5)

## Is Pakistan Ready to Meet Challenges of 21st Century?

### OUTLINE

#### (a) Introduction

Major challenges of Pakistan in 21st century are:

- (i) It needs to arrest its population growth to grapple with myriad problems
- (ii) Rampant poverty which has sapped energies of people and their capacity to harness their talents
- (iii) Lack of literacy, education and employment opportunities which have not allowed a country to build capacity of its human resource
- (iv) Improvement in health indicators, maternal and child healthcare
- (v) A shrinking industrial base which shows that economy and manufacturing industries are losing their competitiveness
- (vi) Failure to ride the bandwagon of digital revolution and use of Internet boom to build IT industry and e-commerce
- (vii) Building of integrated economic institutions to take benefit of globalization, and enhancement of international trade
- (viii) Strengthening of economy and reducing reliance on imports
- (ix) It has a very narrow tax base and its tax bureaucracy is inefficient which leads to frequent revenue gaps in the economy
- (x) Building of trade alliances and taking benefit of geostrategic position
- (xi) Improvement of security situation and ensuring peace with neighbours
- (xii) Improvement in law and order situation and judicial system so that justice could be made accessible to people
- (xiii) Pakistan is among the top five countries most impacted by the climate change and its agriculture, river systems and survival is at stake if it doesn't address this challenge

#### (c) Is Pakistan ready for the challenges?

- (i) It has been unable to control population growth. Part of the problem lies in the nature of economy. An agriculture-based economy requires more helping hands without any human resource development
- (ii) It has alleviated poverty over the years but still a significant number of its population lives in abject poverty. It is not ready for the poverty challenge
- (iii) It has not been able to streamline its education system. Education is a provincial subject and one of the largest bureaucracies in the province. But there are multiple issues. It has a long way to go in education
- (iv) It has not improved its health indicators. Major health issues due to absence of potable water, malaria and contagious disease
- (v) It is moving slowly toward the digital economy and e-commerce. It has invested in IT education but so far IT companies in the country have restricted business base
- (vi) It has not been able to establish well-integrated economic institutions with global financial markets. It would need to gear up efforts to develop its nascent financial institutions. It is far away from improving its exports and reducing its imports
- (vii) It needs to improve its tax bureaucracy to generate more revenue for an economy beset with perennial budget deficits
- (viii) It has to devise its energy policy which pave the way to procure cheap energy and provides low-cost energy to its people
- (ix) It has to embrace clean energy projects and technologies and become low and finally zero emitting countries
- (x) It has to address the issue of clean climate energy projects and reduce its carbon emissions and vouch for sustainable development supported by the clean energy endowment funds
- (xi) Its security situation has improved to a little extent but remain imperiled due the Afghan war and the uncertainty that may result due to a shoddy deal between Afghan Taliban and US

- (xii) It faces the challenge of normalisation of bilateral relationship with India
- (xiii) Law and order situation is precarious and judicial system requires reforms. Rationalisation of resources, capacity building of law enforcement agencies and improving judicial process would take time

#### (d) Conclusion

(6)

## National Security Policy and its Repercussions on Pakistan's Domestic and Foreign Policy

### OUTLINE

#### (a) Introduction

Why the need felt to draft a new National Security Policy when there is National Action plan, 2014?

- (b) (i) Different arms of the government pursuing the national policy of the country which made it difficult to remain focused
- (ii) Security policy not aligned with the economic policy and national integration policy which was severely hurting growth prospects of the country
- (iii) Changing geopolitical and geostrategic circumstances could not be catered to in the old national and security policies such as those envisaged in the National Action Plan, 2014
- (iv) Afghanistan situation fallout called for a new approach towards regional stability and elimination of cross-border terrorism in the country
- (v) The security institutions were struggling to precisely visualise the terrorism threat which emanated from internal rifts between state and various terror outfits
- (vi) State had to deal simultaneously with conventional security threats emanating from its eastern and western borders, terror threats and cyber threats
- (vii) The growing economic challenge has been another nightmare for the establishment, and lies at the heart of the National Security Policy
- (viii) Economic challenges to growth prospects made it difficult to pursue a strong and well-founded foreign policy
- (ix) Geo-economics as a paradigm including geostrategic importance and regional connectivity coupled with strong economic muscles required a well-thought-out plan
- (x) CPEC and other strategic pipeline projects could only become fruitful if they are well guarded by a comprehensive policy coverage with clear goals
- (xi) Pakistan's need to understand and define its place in the changing world order, specifically in the context of America's shifting priorities
- (xii) Security approach to be abandoned in the traditional way and to adopt a more holistic approach to put disparate policies together as a single policy
- (xiii) In order to remove the persisting ambiguities between the internal and external security paradigms which had emerged after 9/11

#### (c) A comprehensive national security doctrine in documented form

#### (d) Over the last two decades, state institutions have made multiple moves to fix the issue of religiously motivated terrorism and extremism

#### (e) National Action Plan, Paigham-i-Pakistan, the National Internal Security Policy and the Counter Violent Extremism Policy are some efforts made by the state to address security issues

#### (f) What outcome goals have been set in and discussed candidly by the NSP?

- (i) NSP tries to address the identity of the state and maintaining cohesion in society
- (ii) Pakistan would be able to resolve its domestic conflicts and bridge over its political and economic differences with the help of economic and social integration
- (iii) Addresses the fallout state as a result of state's use of religion to create nationalism in the country but at a very high cost
- (iv) Effort to achieve inclusivity and national cohesion by removing political, social and economic disparities among different spectrums and forces of the society

- (v) Improving security prospects for internal and external challenges by adopting multi-pronged approach such as dialogue, political participation and engagement of different stakeholders
- (vi) Economic revival to provide stability to the masses in terms of their survival and efforts to spread the gains made by the economic growth among the masses
- (vii) Carefully looking into the dynamics of CPEC projects and the need for a sustainable connectivity
- (viii) Energy projects to be made linchpin of the CPEC projects so that environmentally clean, affordable and pollution free energy is made available
- (ix) Emphasis has been on bringing in religious actors as the key agents of desired change to achieve national cohesion and change the narrative surrounding extremism and terrorism
- (x) Achieve its national interests with the help of various foreign policy tools which include bilateral relations, UN mission presence, and responsible attitude and conduct at international forums
- (xi) Support of green initiatives and policies and addressing the issue of clean energy and climate change
- (xii) Maintaining balanced relationship with US and China as strategic partners without compromising on the country's national interest
- (xiii) Forging strategic, economic and political ties with China and Russia without becoming part of any bloc which diminishes Pakistan's role in international politics
- (xiv) Promotion of dialogue and parleys to resolve all outstanding issues pertaining to any regional, international disputes and respect international law
- (xv) Use of hybrid geo-economic approach to advance Pakistan's interest as an aspiring and responsible nation committed to maintenance of peace

(g) Appraisal of the NSP

- (i) It is not certain how NSP will help in addressing the identity crisis in the country when the predominant approach of achieving social and national cohesion is to reduce the space for sub-nationalist movements
- (ii) Unclassified NSP part leaves the issue of national cohesion process untouched. Will it be a coercive or dialogue-based process?
- (iii) The NSP is only a policy directive and it would not lead to development of any framework to achieve the goals
- (iv) The issue of ownership of the NSP still rings hollow as it has not been carefully deliberated and it is thought that it is the exclusive domain of the security establishment
- (v) NSP has not been through a rigorous debate in the parliament and clear oversight by the parliament is needed to make it a functional document

(h) Conclusion

## (7)

### Pakistan can Never Make Real Progress without Inclusive Participation of the Female Gender

#### OUTLINE

(a) Introduction: Women constitute more than 50% of the country's population but their contribution in the national affairs is far less than their numbers

(b) Why lack of women participation in the economy and society:

- (i) Majority of Pakistan's population lives in rural areas (around 64%) and lacks basic amenities and necessities of life
- (ii) Education opportunities are not equitably distributed among the male and female population
- (iii) Women literacy and presence in higher education systems are far from satisfactory
- (iv) Female education suffers on various counts ranging from improper school structure, large distances, household work or domestic labour and early marriages
- (v) Patriarchal social norms and conservatism have relegated women to a lesser status in the society

(vi) Limited decision-making reading career choices is available to women in Pakistani society especially among the middle and lower income rural and urban classes

(vii) Economic deprivation and independence is not available to a large segment across different classes of women in Pakistani society

(viii) Women are not given their rightful share in their property and are deprived of an honourable education and livelihood

(ix) Sectors of the economy which can initially cope up with women participation are the major areas which employ women

(x) Manufacturing sector of the economy almost invariably employs men which makes acquisition of key skills difficult and limits the access of women to better opportunities for career progress

(xi) Women participation in politics is not considered as a reputable profession and faces challenges as still special quotas are served for women participation

(c) Areas where participation of women is highly desirable:

- (i) Women participation is low and is very low across some fields which have been exclusively dedicated to male population which include sports, security services, armed forces, construction sector, trading and retail businesses, etc. keeping in view the main employment generating segments of Pakistan society
- (ii) It is desirable that women participation should be increased in all areas of the economy with the implicit aim to give them more empowerment and more financial freedom
- (iii) Political landscape is one area where participation of women ought to increase in order to raise their genuine concerns and address issues of women exploitation, marginalization and backwardness in the society

(d) How participation of women in national mainstream can be achieved in the Pakistani society?

- (i) Education should be made accessible at rural and urban areas to provide female students with better quality of education at their doorstep
- (ii) Special quotas and fee stipends can be provided to female students to increase their participation in the mainstream economic activities
- (iii) Participation can be increased by focusing on long-term basis to target areas where there are few women and short-term areas such as services sector can be targeted
- (iv) Laws related to work place harassment, and equal wage and equal opportunity status should be made mandatory
- (v) Mandatory transfer of movable and immovable property laws related to inheritance and claim of due share as per law to be widely publicized and implemented with an iron fist to give women their rightful share
- (vi) Some loan facilities and tax breaks could be promised on the basis of increasing more share of women employment and engagement

(e) What would be the benefits of women participation in national mainstream affairs?

- (i) Harmony in the society will be promoted when due share in terms of education, job opportunities would be available to women
- (ii) Better economic output as women would constitute as a precious human resource and would lead to better utilization of resources
- (iii) Political representation of women would increase in the political arena and better legislation would surface
- (iv) State would fulfill its responsibility to grant a better life, more opportunities and equal access to its female population
- (v) Pakistan's image among the civilized nations and international forums would improve and would provide more soft power to Pakistan's claim to be a respectable and human rights granting and law-abiding nation

(8)

## US-Pakistan Relations have Always been Fraught with Challenges

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
  - (i) US and Pakistan relations have never been without challenge which have led to new dynamics:
    - (i) US-Pakistan relationship is more than six decades old, but neither side has a well-defined view of the other and its policies
    - (ii) US has engaged with Pakistan only to the extent of serving its own interests which started from alliance during the Cold War, Afghan jihad and ended with the exit of US forces in Afghanistan, whereas Pakistan engaged with the US for its long-term need for US economic support and strategic patronage
    - (iii) Pakistan's complaint against US relationship is the inconsistency and expediency of the US approach to Pakistan
    - (iv) The two countries enjoyed a good relationship in the first engagement with the US from 1954 to 1965 as US strengthened Pakistan's defence capabilities and potential for economic development
    - (v) US supported Pakistan during the Afghan jihad but once US goal in Afghanistan was accomplished, it slapped sanctions on Pakistan for pursuing a nuclear programme
    - (vi) The US-Soviet détente made US rethink its allies and only indispensable American allies were retained and Pakistan was disbanded
    - (vii) Since the 1980s, US-Pakistan ties have largely been conflict related, involving the two Afghan wars — of the 1980s and the recent one — and the war against terrorism
- (c) US-Pakistan ties are now at a crossroads since both countries are now pursuing different set of policies
  - (i) US and Pakistan followed terribly flawed strategies during the US occupation of Afghanistan and the bilateral relation steeped in conflict related relation became sour and troubled since the US couldn't achieve the goal of its Afghanistan occupation
  - (ii) The relationship had faulty policies on both sides, setting each other up for blame for their own failures and enhancing the scope for contention; US hubris to come to terms with the reality; and Pakistan vouching for its own strategic interests as US could move out from the region any time
  - (iii) US exit from Afghanistan after two decades of occupation have led to emergence of new strategic competition in the region and a decline in the strategic relationship with the US
  - (iv) US priorities in South Asia have undergone an altogether different change in perspective due to rise of China and its Belt and Road Initiative
  - (v) Pakistan doesn't figure in US's Indo-Pacific strategy which is exclusively dedicated against China and leaves little room for Pakistan to manoeuvre and conduct diplomacy
  - (vi) US has forged alliance with India in the South Asian region to form of Quadrilateral Security Dialogue (Quad) inclusive of India, US, Japan and Australia to contain the influence of China in the region
  - (vii) Pakistan is under stress to pursue an independent foreign policy and maintain its relations with China since US has often raised concerns over CPEC projects
  - (viii) US-China tensions have created a schism in Pakistan's strategic thinking and made it difficult to tread the fine line between choosing relations with both countries as the two world giants enter a cold war era and Pakistan's interests are compromised and the world moves toward polarisation
  - (ix) Pakistan didn't make a diplomatically sound choice when it decided to skip President Biden's Democracy Summit as it may have been the best time to show neutrality
- (d) Future prospects for US-Pakistan relationship:
  - (i) Reality check Pakistan needs to carry out is not to expect equality in US ties with itself and India
  - (ii) Pakistan's relation with US and India's relation with the US have different purposes, roles and trajectories and at the moment US is building capacity of India to stand-up against the rise of China

- (iii) US and China have inter-connected interests and they are eventually going to find a modus vivendi - call it 'competitive coexistence' or 'managed strategic competition' and US will use its pressure to keep Pakistan under the thumb and sabotage CPEC projects
- (iv) US has been harsh toward Pakistan and the FATF round of implementations and strict conditionalities imposed by the IMF tell a different tale about the frosty relations between the two countries and raise the potential for conflict with India which is a dangerous but improbable prospect
- (v) US pressure on Pakistan can make it unstable which would foster militancy, endanger nuclear assets, instability in Afghanistan and help with counterterrorism, for which Pakistan's military and intelligence cooperation is critical
- (vi) Pakistan needs US support for any crisis management in India-Pakistan ties since the UN has not shown any genuine interest in the resolution of the Kashmir issue
- (vii) Pakistan can't afford to be weak since a weak Pakistan would need both the US and China, while a strong Pakistan will be sought by both

(9)

## Personalization and Polarization of Politics in the Country is Bound to Vitiate the Democratic Process

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
  - Pakistan's political process is deep-rooted in power competition, has always centred around personality cults and remained largely polarized due to deep ideological underpinnings carved by protagonists
  - Why personalization of politics in the country and how can it be eliminated:
- (b) Personalization of politics in the country and how can it be eliminated:
  - (i) Pakistani society has not allowed institutions to evolve, has not set any precedents to follow and doesn't respect rule of law and doesn't bring out leadership that goes through the test of endurance, integrity and followership of a legal process
  - (ii) Democratic process has not evolved since different tiers of government have been changed or dissolved frequently which lead to non-development of political careers at different levels of the political stages
  - (iii) Politics is often used as profession to capture more power, seek financial interests and build a fortune, which leads individuals having power, clout and contacts in the system to step in and achieve their ambitions
  - (iv) Candid exchange of ideas, morality concerns, ideological conflict resolution and freedom of speech are genuine issues which are not given any importance when people enter politics
  - (v) Position in the society, influence and power in a specific area or financial muscles decide the nature of politics and the aim behind politics
  - (vi) Freedom of speech and curbs on exchange of ideas don't allow a sincere leadership to join politics and work for the cause of masses
  - (vii) Poor participation from local people at the cost of their exclusion and politics surrounding power accumulation that doesn't allow people to select people who are coming through a fair channel
  - (viii) Choice drought and lack of youth participation doesn't allow for the rise of new faces in politics
  - (ix) Psychological issues behind the emasculated and constipated thinking of population wherein they don't empower people from humble backgrounds to take lead in the political process
  - (x) Rule of law is absent which makes only those participants successful in politics who can curry favour with the law enforcement agencies
  - (xi) Institutions should be strengthened which serve as nurseries for the development and training of new leaders
  - (xii) Politics should be delegated at rural and urban tiers so that people could participate and serve the interests of their communities

- (xiii) Rule of law should be strengthened through public-private partnership by reposing trust and responsibility in state institutions by strictly following the spirit of law
- (xiv) Freedom of speech should be protected so that individuals could have a conducive environment to voice their concerns and ideas
- (d) (xv) Diversity of opinion should be tolerated and patience should be inculcated
- (e) (i) Why politics is increasingly becoming polarized and how can it be whittled down?
- (ii) Divisive politics is increasingly becoming fashionable since political parties are using moral and religious justification to advance their agendas
- (iii) Extreme positions are being taken by voters as well as politicians since political opponents consider each other responsible for the poor performance of the country and breakdown of law and order
- (iv) Contempt against political parties who are in the power seat makes the responsible for all that is wrong with the country
- (v) Blame game and superficial discussions on complex issues and oversimplification of the matters makes it easy to adopt poles apart opinion and leads to polarization
- (vi) Absence of writ of the state, and poor law and order situation makes it difficult for one opponent to bring evidence of wrongdoing against the other
- (vii) Psychological and emotional failure mindset which makes it possible to adopt extreme positions
- (viii) The polarization of politics can be avoided by strengthening rule of law and institutions
- (ix) In case of Pakistan polarization has resulted due to one side accusing the other of political rigging, political witch hunting and malfeasance with both been able to prove the same through a fair legal process
- (x) Polarization signifying a failure of the political process to find any middle ground to resolve issues

(e) Conclusion

## (10)

### Reforms in Examination Systems

#### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Examination system of a country sets in the target and achieves the learning caliber and capacity building of its students
- (c) Examination system in the case of Pakistan is suffering from systemic flaws at various levels which has hampered the learning outcomes and quality of scholarship prevalent among the students
- (d) Flaws in the examination system:
  - (i) Education system suffers direly at the rural system where properly trained teaching methodology and examination system is almost non-existent
  - (ii) Rural low cost private and public schools don't have the wherewithal and the expertise to set up a qualitatively well-reasoned and honed examination system that helps provide a fillip to the curiosity and analytical skills of young students
  - (iii) Examination system at the urban sector suffers at the level of low cost private and public schools, colleges and even some universities
  - (iv) Problem lies with regurgitation of facts, poor analysis, weak reading and comprehension skills and focus on reproducing the same material and not changing the paper and examination pattern on a routine basis
  - (v) At matriculate and higher secondary education standard, subjective questions have been replaced by the objective questions with no real change in the learning outcome, more exploration of the subject and quoting of alternate or corroborative information
  - (vi) Over the years almost perfect score is being achieved in the public sector matriculate and higher secondary level schools with no indigenous thought enrichment, critical reasoning and creative writing
  - (vii) At university level, drills, quizzes and other short assignments don't present challenging tasks which can provoke inquisitiveness and curiosity

- (e) (viii) No alignment between the examination system and the prevalent field dynamics exists nor is fostered which saps the energy of young students
- (f) Reforms required in the examination system:
  - (i) Development of a live curriculum and a step wise examination system that tests latest knowledge, critical reasoning on the basis of math skills, logical reasoning and reading comprehension
  - (ii) Examination should be made an enjoyable and self-analysis based project so that their scare and burden on students could be removed
  - (iii) Evaluation in the examination should consider the quality of ideas expressed along with the spark for creativity and exploration and discussion of new ideas, new solutions, etc.
  - (iv) The underlying theme of examinations should be to harness the unique genius of students by encouraging experimentation and innovation of small projects
  - (v) Education has been devolved to provinces after the passage of 18th Amendment to the constitution, so new approach should be adopted to improve the education system
  - (vi) Pakistan's elite schools wherein quality of education is high and international examination systems are used should also be consulted so that a well-researched and comprehensive examination system can be enacted in the country
  - (vii) Regular monthly examinations should be conducted so that students remain engaged and they could muster interest to pay more attention to the curriculum and come up with new ideas
  - (viii) Award of marks in the examination system could be replaced with some meaningful sentences which could convey more information regarding the performance and the attempt so that better feedback could be exchanged between the students and the examiners
  - (ix) Examination system should include research projects which could enable the students to elaborate and concentrate on new ideas
  - (x) A comprehensive evaluation and examination policy should be deliberated and executed after the input received by the academics and other stakeholders
  - (xi) Participation from representatives of federal and provincial bureaucracies should broach new topics and methodology to conduct exams and evaluate students
- (f) Conclusion

## (11)

### Autonomy Granted to State Bank of Pakistan may become a Hurdle in the way of Growth; and may Lead to Lesser Leverage Available with the Government to Control Inflation

#### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) What is the role of the State Bank?
  - (i) Monetary policy to control interest rate, flow of capital in the economy and encourage business in the financial markets
  - (ii) Control of inflation, and supply and demand pressures in the market side
  - (iii) Management of growth trajectory through money supply and best practices to control foreign exchange rate and control of imports and exports
- (c) Independence of State Bank throughout the history of Pakistan has remained compromised. It has been a weak institution caving in to the demands of the federal government
- (d) Almost all variables were and are always used politically by the governments in Pakistan to justify their stay, thereby damaging the credibility of the State Bank
- (e) Successive governments have always ignored international best practices of independence and compromised efficient monetary policy of price stability and inflation targeting
- (f) Pakistan deviates from international standards when it comes to granting independence to the State Bank

- (i) The SBP governor is appointed for three years for two terms subject to the age limit of 65 years against the international practice - the longer the tenure of the governor, the higher the level of independence and the lower would be the inflation.
- (ii) The ultimate targets of SBP is monetary stability, soundness and stability of the financial sector and optimum utilisation of productive resources, against the international standards of inflation targeting
- (iii) More than one objective of SBP, against a single target of inflation targeting, which made the job of SBP more difficult to maintain and monitor
- (iv) Loose limitations on government borrowings to support budget deficit and support extravagant development projects
- (v) Monetary policy preference parameters wherein interest rate or exchange rate was kept artificially set different levels to meet different economic and political objectives
- (g) Why IMF is demanding an autonomous State Bank of Pakistan?
  - (i) Excessive role of the government specially and specifically the finance ministry in the affairs of the State Bank. This can be validated from the SBP Act of 1956, Monetary and Fiscal Policy Coordination Board, and Monetary Policy Framework
  - (ii) Pakistan is far behind from the perspectives of politics, economics, and intentions to select and implement policy variables required for achieving the SBP independence
  - (iii) The federal government, in pursuit of higher-than-potential growth and target rates of inflation, always deviated from the real targets
  - (iv) The State Bank sets a target for money growth rate, which is exceeded frequently, as actual rates of inflation and money growth rates remained well above the set target suggesting imperfection and conduct of monetary policy on an ad hoc basis
  - (v) The International Monetary Fund demands implementation of best international economic practices for one of the most important public institutions, wherein, central banks moved away from Discretionary Monetary Policy towards Rules-based Monetary Policy
  - (vi) Central bank's independence is to be understood in terms of its role in the economy and its management of economy
  - (vii) Government of the day cannot be allowed to borrow excessively from the central bank for bridge the gap of its budget deficit
  - (viii) Exchange rate is left as per market determination without any interference of the finance ministry or federal government
  - (ix) State Bank would no more be responsible to promote growth agenda of the government
  - (x) Tradeoff in macro-economic stability and economic challenges can be successfully achieved with the collaboration of the finance ministry and the State Bank of Pakistan (SBP)
- (h) Globally, the legal characteristics of independence as stated in the charter of the central bank are grouped into four segments:
  - (i) The appointment, dismissal, and term of office of the central bank governor
  - (ii) The policy formulation and resolution of conflicts between the executive branch and the central bank over monetary policy, and the participation of the central bank in the budget process
  - (iii) The objective(s) of the central bank
  - (iv) The central bank's ability to put restrictions on lending to the public sector
- (i) The functions of an autonomous State Bank of Pakistan would be as following:
  - (i) Conduct of rules-based monetary policy rather than discretionary, which is not based on any narrow political demands
  - (ii) State Bank to enjoy operational autonomy in selecting appropriate instruments to achieve given targets of inflation, interest, exchange rates, and soundness of the financial sector
- (j) How can SBP achieve the target of inflation control and what could be the method?
  - (i) Flexible inflation targeting is the best compromise for monetary policy, instead of strict inflation targeting and strict output targeting
  - (ii) The aim is to stabilise inflation around the inflation target and also to stabilise output around potential output

- (iii) Consumer price index (CPI) price of sensitive products should be controlled by the government to grant relief to the population
- (iv) Growth should be followed in targeted areas and focus should be reducing electricity and fuel related increase in commodity price
- (v) Food subsidies should be granted for a specific duration or essential imported food items should be subsidized
- (vi) Demand can be artificially reduced for unnecessary luxury items to reduce pressure on foreign exchange and invest in plant and machinery to modernize efficient production and increase in output

## (12) Socio-economic Progress & Population Control are linked together

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
  - Pakistan's population and its economic growth are bound to create trouble for the survival of the people of the country
- (c) Population explosion and control is an unaddressed national issue and needs to be tackled at all policy forums on a war footing since the topic of population control has been absent from our national discourse
- (d) Why unbridled population growth shall have deleterious effects on the survival of the population?
- (e) Pakistan is one of the last countries that is still not offering family planning services widely through its healthcare system
  - (i) Several issues have been exacerbated with the increase in population which include poverty, unemployment, food insecurity, housing, crime, healthcare, etc.
  - (ii) Maternal and child healthcare are put on the backburner at the level of family and state. At the level of family some of the children may not receive adequate food, nutrition, care and immunization
  - (iii) State's responsibilities increase manifold when it has to support large size families as it has to cater to their education and healthcare
  - (iv) Healthcare budgets of provincial governments swell up as a result of large size families; immunization programs are slowed down due to cultural, economic and access blockages
  - (v) Access to education becomes limited as large families don't prioritize the educational needs and unemployment and other business enterprises receive a setback
  - (vi) Initially, large size family is preferred to bring more earning hands to the family but in the long run these large size families suffer due to failure to have access to basic amenities
  - (vii) Many people don't educate females as a result of large family size and cultural backwardness which robs those females of the opportunities available to them in the economic and social spheres
  - (viii) Economic opportunities are shrinking and it makes survival unsustainable as a result of high cost of electricity, housing, fuel and education
- (f) Escalating effects of rapid and unchecked population growth have finally received serious attention
- (g) Inclusion of 'population management' in the National Security Policy, which prioritizes human security as essential for national security
- (h) Prioritizing population control is going to help in making livelihood more sustainable for the population and achieve economic progress
  - (i) The major path for tackling high fertility and rapid population growth is through the provision of voluntary access to quality family planning services in the public health system
  - (ii) Alongside the expansion of family planning services, there is also a need for a strong public education campaign
  - (iii) A population narrative ought to be developed so that people could be advised about the benefits of small size family and a better status of living and upbringing
  - (iv) Pemra can play a positive role by ensuring free public health time to raise awareness of the population issue

- (v) A vibrant and creative media has to play its role to draw attention to population concerns and how they affect the daily health, lives and livelihoods of millions of ordinary citizens
- (vi) Importance of family planning and small size family can be signalled if family planning services are included in the Schat Sahulat card, and in the Ehsaas programme.
- (vii) Family planning prevents avoidable deaths of mothers and children deserves the dedication of special level of resources and messaging through mass media since it has a direct bearing on public goods and well-being
- (viii) Both the federal and provincial governments have a role to play. The responsibility of the provinces is the delivery of family planning services
- (ix) It has been shown recently during the Covid-19 pandemic that the provinces have independently implemented vaccinations, treatments, etc. The federally chaired NCOC provided a platform for additional financing and policy guidance with the full cooperation of the provinces
- (x) Job opportunities would be available to people as competition would decrease due to decline in population
- (xi) The strong linkages between the economy and the need to lower fertility must be at the forefront of the repositioning of responsibilities
- (xii) The state would be able to spend more on the well-being of the people and it would target areas where it can be most helpful
- (xiii) State and provinces would be able to work on the issues of a neatly trimmed population
- (xiv) Exacerbation of water, food and energy shortages would be avoided if population growth is controlled
- (xv) Healthcare issues of the population could be resolved more readily since at present most of the healthcare issued being faced by the population result from neglect of the health of the people, poor sanitation, lack of potable water, lack of immunization and infectious diseases among the population
- (xvi) The Federal Ministry of National Health Services Regulation and Coordination and Provincial Ministries of Population Welfare must realise that family planning is perhaps one of the most effective investments to make in order to improve many of our social development indicators
- (xvii) Support and endorsement from the Council of Islamic Ideology and the minister of religious affairs as they have fully endorsed the new population narrative and birth spacing as a fundamental human right to save the lives of mothers and children
- (xviii) Population control from the perspective of women is grant of human rights and removes the obstacles of unwanted pregnancies, high maternal and child mortality, hunger and illiteracy — all linked to high population growth rates
- (xix) The poorest and most vulnerable have not been at the centre of successive governments' priorities, resulting in rising inequalities particularly in the social sector
- (xx) Population control will remove income inequality in the society and pave the way toward sustainable economic development and eradication of poverty

### (13)

## Youth Bulge of Pakistan's Population Presents Stark Challenges and Opportunities to its Survival

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Population of Pakistan has become unsustainable due to crisis of governance and shrinking resources, and economic fallout
  - (i) Pakistan is the fifth most populous country of the world
  - (ii) A 2020 UNDP report estimates that half of Pakistan's youth is languishing, and not in any form of education, employment or training
  - (iii) 68 percent of the population under the age of 30, and around 27 percent between the ages of 15 and 29, according to the Pakistan National Human Development Report

- (iv) Almost 30 percent of youngsters are illiterate, while of the four million youth who enter the workforce each year, only 39 percent find jobs
- (v) Pakistan's population faces several endemic problems which undermine the capacity of utilization of its human capital
- (vi) Youth can be a big opportunity or a liability for the country if it is presented with or without adequate training and facilities
- (c) There can be no greater priority for Pakistan than addressing the needs of its burgeoning young population which may be the last hope of this country
- (d) Problems haunting the youth of Pakistan:
  - (i) Education sector of Pakistan has not made its youth capable as the standard of education is very poor and the entire system has become outdated and devoid of any urge for inquiry
  - (ii) Pandemic hit study schedules and breaks; students who are lucky enough to seek education are contending with severe learning loss due to school and university closures through the pandemic
  - (iii) Examination system is in derelict state and has not been reformed and doesn't encourage any independent scholarship
  - (iv) Examination system is full of loopholes and doesn't cover closure of cheating or rigging
  - (v) Gender-based differentiation and exploitation, religious or ethnic minorities live in a constant state of terror and are denied their share in mainstream education
  - (vi) Skill development has been on the decline and youth has become its casualty and the country on the whole doesn't boast of a professionally sound workforce
  - (vii) Opportunity constraints on the basis of economy, availability of internet and learning tools hinder the chances of youth to exploit their potential
  - (viii) Despite ubiquitous availability of internet and mobile, the mobile density is low which means that most young people are unable to participate in the digital space
  - (ix) Lack of participation from different regions gives rise to regional and lingual disparities which creates dissatisfaction among various segments of the youth
  - (x) Employment prospects diminished due to rapidly changing market dynamics
  - (xi) Sustainable livelihood is not available to youth even after getting educated as the cost of living, inflation and housing are high
  - (xii) Steady source of earning is a problem keeping in view the volatility prevailing in job market in the wake of Covid-19 pandemic
  - (xiii) Young people feel vulnerable to indoctrination to the appeal and exhortations of religious and violent extremist groups
  - (xiv) A recent report on youth in Sindh released by the Pak Institute for Peace Studies warns of growing extremism among disaffected youth in the province
  - (xv) There is no comprehensive, all-encompassing plan for how to educate, upskill, employ and engage young Pakistanis
  - (xvi) National Security Policy focuses more on population and internal migration control rather than recognising that the state's failure to empower the youth is greatest future national security threat
  - (xvii) Any discussion about youth in Pakistan quickly devolves into labour market analysis, with skills and job creation touted as the solutions to what is a much more complex programme
  - (e) Initiatives launched to resolve issues faced by Pakistani youth
    - (i) The government has introduced various initiatives such as the National Vocational and Technical Training Commission's 'National Skills for All' strategy, the Kamyab Jawan Programme, which offers jobs portals and business loans, and Punjab's Parwaaz programme, which partners with the private sector to upskill youth
    - (ii) The much-debated National Security Policy recognises that a "dedicated focus on youth is essential for our future progress"
  - (f) How to address the challenges of youth in Pakistan:
    - (i) Revamp of education system so that learning capacities and capabilities of children is improved and they acquiesce themselves with modern technological demands
    - (ii) Examination system to be made foolproof and free of flaws such as rote learning

- (iii) Better job opportunities in different sectors of the economy by keeping in view the education, skill and qualification required of candidate and required by the employers
- (iv) Unskilled and semi-skilled workers to be engaged in the manual labour market with the aim to impart skills to survive and learn efficient work
- (v) Services sector may be targeted to impart learning skills with cost effective solutions
- (vi) Study after study has highlighted the mismatch between the supply and demand for workers, the result of our economy's transition from agriculture to services, without remaining competitive and technologically up to date in the manufacturing space
- (vii) Even if we upskilled millions of job-seeking young people, Pakistan's demographic (and related economic and security) challenges would remain
- (viii) Youth-oriented policies cannot see beyond productivity to and fail to achieve actual potential
- (ix) Participation of youth in health debates at various schools, colleges and universities to encourage dialogue and prevent indoctrination and decrease appeal of ideological brainwashing
- (x) The launch of the Single National Curriculum may not benefit the youth, which privileges ideology over substance, and emphasises narrow nationalism and dogmatism over education. While our prime minister speaks of youth skills, he delivers a curriculum that discourages analysis or critique, the key skills that the 21st century economy demands

**(14)**

## US should Revisit its China Policy to Prevent Return of another Cold War

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Rise of China as a global economic and strategic power house:
  - (i) China joined World Trade Organization (WTO) on December 11, 2001 which led to its membership and integration into the global economy
  - (ii) Radical economic transformation, market reforms spurred two decades of unprecedented growth and poverty mitigation in China
  - (iii) China's economic integration into mainstream global political arena ended its isolation
  - (iv) China as the world export house and largest manager of world's supply chains
  - (v) Launch of research-oriented products and space mission
  - (vi) Owner of the world's second largest military in terms of power and resources
  - (vii) China's initiative to connect the world through the BRI (Belt and Road Initiative) and reduce dependence on its sea routes and launch energy and social connectivity projects throughout the world
- (c) What are the competition spheres between the US and China?
  - (i) US wants to contain rise of China in the Indo-Pacific region and has made efforts to forge alliances with Japan, India and Australia to contain Chinese influence
  - (ii) US has raised reservations over Chinese claims in the South China sea
  - (iii) QUAD strategic group has been forged specifically to counterweight Chinese sphere of influence
  - (iv) AUKUS deal has been made with Australia and UK to specifically have an upper edge in strategic power in the Pacific region
  - (v) US would stand to lose if China exerts economic and strategic influence as its BRI projects are completed
  - (vi) US has branded BRI projects as debt traps and warned several of its allies to stay away from them
  - (vii) Re-positioning of global alliances is taking place in new global World Order and US fears that its influence over Europe, South America and Africa would be reduced and its allies would shift their attention toward China
  - (viii) US has been consistently opposing China's claim over Taiwan and its One-China policy and claim of China over Hong Kong

The US is devoid of the mettle to accept China as a major power

- (d) US has convened democratic conventions and used WTO to limit Chinese economic gains
- (e) Human rights and freedom of speech issues have been used against the Chinese to embarrass it
- (f) Washington feels its dominant leadership model is at stake by China's advent as a key economic and peace player and the global embrace of Chinese cooperative policy
- (g) The US should come out from the state of denial, retreat to the one-China policy and undertake steps to avoid confrontation and decoupling of the two biggest economies
- (h) The Biden administration is hedging its bets on bolstering alliances in a bid to cut Beijing's economy with the rest of the world while avidly seeking to set the "common-sense guardrails" so that "(extreme) competition does not veer into conflict"
- (i) Biden's protectionist "Buy American" plan, an initiative considered a blockade of free trade by the US partners in 2017 and shoving inflation upward with tariffs in place, also signals to penalize US allies whom he has been courting to compete with China and could encourage them to retaliate
- (j) US efforts to contain China have led to opposing camps in the rapidly changing World Order and led to return of a simmering Cold War between the two superpowers
- (k) Conclusion

**(15)**

## Devolution of Power in Pakistan cannot be Complete without Fully Autonomous and Financially Empowered Local Governments

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Article 140A in the Constitution which directs provincial governments to devolve administrative, political and financial authority to elected LGs
- (c) A provincial government cannot by any means arrogate to itself the powers and functions vested in the local governments as the local governments are guaranteed by the constitution and the right of people to have a political tier at the local government cannot be violated through force or legal gimmickry
- (d) Political parties have adopted a constituted opinion regarding Article 140A, arguing that the spirit of devolution espoused in the 18th Amendment was restricted to the devolution of power and financial resources from the centre to the provinces and did not entail that the provinces too devolve administrative authority and fiscal resources to LGs in the same spirit
- (e) Issues which could be resolved if local governments are implemented:
  - (i) Local governments constitute the cornerstone of a functioning democracy
  - (ii) Local issues are best addressed by a government comprising members from the locality as opposed to the federal or provincial government
  - (iii) Local governments provide direct involvement of citizens in decision-making at the local level
  - (iv) Local governments are a great incentive for local people in engendering greater political participation
  - (v) Citizens can take ownership of the locally elected governments and their manifestoes if they deliver and would be citizens' first and natural attachment given that the functions of these most profoundly affect their daily lives
  - (vi) LGs are critical for democracy to deepen, for diverse opinions and legitimate interests to be taken into account
  - (vii) Leadership and its proper development at the local level and lead to evolution of democracy and clear-headed leadership
  - (viii) Autonomy and administrative independence for the people and better engagement terms with the local population
  - (ix) Accountability through transfer of responsibility by having oversight of administrative functions and a measure for transparency

- (a) Reduction in the oversight of bureaucracy which is truly meant for helping political dispensations in the discharge of public and political decisions
- (b) Regular LG elections on a partisan basis on the other hand create an incentive for parties to enhance their reputations by focusing on local governance
- (c) When LGs are controlled by unelected and unaccountable bureaucrats, political parties have little motivation to galvanise grassroots supporters and rally around local issues
- (d) Increase in political participation at grassroots level which can lead to better coordination between provincial and local government tiers
- (e) Better functioning of local governments and better civic amenities for the citizens
- (f) Development of political parties and their administrative set-up
- (g) Rule of law to receive more attention and pave the way for improvement
- (h) Increase in generation of taxes and better spending on welfare of the population
- (i) LGs would reduce ethnic tensions and pit different regions in a competition to make more advancement
- (j) Hegemony of strong centre and centralized political decision making would be reduced
- (k) Impediments in the way of implementation of local governments:
  - (i) Centralization of decision-making would be scrapped and most political parties may have to surrender dynastic politics
  - (ii) Political parties don't want to dilute their power by placing a sound functioning local government system
  - (iii) Governing administrative units through bureaucrats is a better option since they would follow the dictates of the political bosses
  - (iv) Accountability would remain a pipe dream since there is no political brass at the local level
  - (v) Different political streams at the national, provincial and local level would usher administrative independence and shield these units from undue political pressure
  - (vi) Voter confidence and expectation to get deliver of rule of law and governance would remain absent when there are no local governments
- (l) Recent defeat of the ruling PTI government in KP local government elections has allowed the party to change its tactics
- (m) Local government elections are sending a clear message loudly that only those political parties would succeed which would provide basic amenities and relief from galloping inflation

(16)

## The Emerging Power of Public Opinion

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Public opinion now acts as a bulwark and shield to protect the interests of the public. It has gained immense power over the years due to availability of several tools and forums which allow people to give voice to their opinions
- (c) Public opinion has become a potent tool to raise awareness and provide feedback related to the issues of concern. A public can now give its verdict, decision and opinion prior to the electoral process or conduct of elections
- (d) How power of public opinion has increased in recent years?
  - (i) Increase in availability of Internet, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, Twitter, etc. have provided immense power to public opinion
  - (ii) Electronic media through the medium of newspapers, TV channels and live streaming on Mobile applications has made ubiquitous access in the lives of people and gave them the vision, perspective and mode to explore the raging issues in the society
  - (iii) Social media websites and Internet availability have made it possible to review the performance of the government or any other political party

- (e) Importance of emerging Public Opinion
  - (i) Public opinion is strictly guard the human rights' violations by the state
  - (ii) Public opinion is the bedrock of democracy and acts a watchdog against the excesses of the party in power and provides a performance review of the government
  - (iii) Issues of national interest and interest of the masses gain traction through public opinion and they help give a direction to the society
  - (iv) Governments change their policies and line of action when they see that public opinion is either in their favour or against them
- (f) Impacts of powerful public opinion on governance is among the foremost dividends
  - (i) Governance can be improved if public opinion is considered and given weightage. In modern days of statecraft, public opinion acts as a discreet survey which provides performance ranking of a government
  - (ii) State relations with other States can be improved if public opinion is considered: one of the main drivers for Track-II Diplomacy in case of Pakistan and India was public opinion of the literary and intelligentsia class
  - (iii) Recently public opinion has been by conservative forces who have been spreading bigotry, falsehood and propaganda against opponents by giving false meaning and assigning wrong intentions
  - (iv) Fake news, yellow journalism and misleading content have been engineered which have all the power craft public opinion which can have egregious and devastating consequences
- (g) Ignoring public opinion may lead to disastrous consequences for any government. Sadly, in case of Pakistan there are several issues such as missing persons, freedom of media, autonomy and financial independence of media and accountability of government institutions which have not been viewed favourably as public opinion against the government is not positive:
  - (i) Autocratic governments are the immediate result when public opinion is sacrificed and people's concerns are not given importance
  - (ii) Extremism in the society would increase if public opinion is moulded or it is blocked
  - (iii) Fake news may not become part of public opinion and it can destroy the moral, social and ideological underpinnings of a society
  - (iv) Public opinion should be well reasoned and should not in any way obfuscate facts or represent previous historical events
  - (v) Special attention should be paid to the health and soundness of public opinion so that fake news, misleading content and propaganda or victimization could be excluded
- (h) Steps needed to encourage public opinion and a healthy debate, less monitoring of individual freedom and complete independence to the media should be given so that public opinion develops in a healthy way and proves beneficial for the development of the society
- (i) Conclusion

(17)

## Significance of Renewable Energy Resources for Pakistan

### OUTLINE

- (a) Pakistan is an energy-starved country with power outages and unpredictable power transmission
- (b) Power and energy sector of the country is faced with teething problems
  - (i) High cost of electricity generation due to high fuel price and cost of transmission
  - (ii) Tariff issues persist and are at the discretion of NEPRA and large GENCOS which make energy costlier and discourages the use of energy by the industry
  - (iii) Transmission system of NTDC is ageing with huge line losses at the transmission end
  - (iv) At the distribution end line losses, theft, power outages, low-power factor and high cost energy makes energy unaffordable

- (v) Pakistan has been relying on costlier energy production obtained from thermal and gas fired power plants
- (vi) The share of hydro-electric power has not increased significantly over the years in the country making electricity unaffordable for the domestic and industrial consumers
- (vii) Shoddy deals have been brokered with IPPs which provide electricity at a high rate and have contributed single-handedly to the huge unbridled circular debt in the economy which has the capacity to stifle the economy and create more instability in the power sector
- (c) The significance of renewable energy sources and generation for Pakistan is manifold:
  - (i) Pakistan has a unique geographical gradient which allows it to undertake different hydro-electric projects which include building new dams and run-off the river projects to generate cheap energy
  - (ii) It can make use of its large coastal belts to tap wind energy
  - (iii) UN forum and global climate financing funds under the IPPC can be used to replace its ageing thermal power plants and replace it with more carbon efficient and clean energy production units
  - (iv) Lesser reliance on furnace oil to produce costly energy would reduce the import bill of the country and lead to channelling of funds toward clean and efficient sources of generation
  - (v) It can make use of solar energy to support domestic energy production and reduce reliance on high cost energy available through the DISCOs
  - (vi) It can reduce its line losses at the distribution system and at the generation level if less domestic energy is utilized from the conventionally available costly sources
  - (vii) It can rework its tariff for the domestic and industrial consumers which will help in the expansion of industry in the country and pave the way toward economic uplift and development
  - (viii) Pakistan would show its sincerity and seriousness toward climate change if it opts for renewable energy generation
  - (ix) Green economy to generate carbon free energy has gained immense appreciation and has become global with several countries giving commitments to phase out dirty energy generation sources such as thermal, coal and nuclear fuel fired plants
  - (x) Pakistan can gain the opportunity to establish its economy, get economic, technical expertise and assistance to develop a sustainable economy and renewable energy sector
- (d) Conclusion

## (18)

### Causes of Inflation and its Socio-economic Impact on Population

#### OUTLINE

- (a) Inflation in Pakistan has proved detrimental for governments and it has eroded political capital and legitimacy of ruling political parties
- (b) Causes of inflation in Pakistan:
  - (i) Dollar to exchange rate changes frequently due to decline in foreign exchange reserves of the country which puts pressure on the rupee and State Bank depreciates the value of rupee to decrease dollar buying
  - (ii) Fuel prices are dependent on the value of dollar and transport costs which increase as dollar price vis-à-vis rupee rises and cost of production of energy generation increase
  - (iii) Electricity prices are dependent on fuel price adjustment which are based on international markets and increase in consumption; any increase in electricity prices is bound to make finished products costlier
  - (iv) Higher costs of imports and raw materials fuel inflation as the government imposes taxes on imports to generate more revenue and imports become costlier as rupee depreciates against the dollar
  - (v) Increase in production costs are dependent on imports, exchange rate and availability of raw material
  - (vi) Decline in domestic production due to small footprint of domestic industry leads to rise in high cost imports and adds to inflation

- (vii) Huge gap between demand and supply as the domestic market is unable to bridge the demand and supply gap
- (viii) Inflation in the cost of land has always out-stripped the inflation of domestic items such as building material, cement, bricks, paints, steel, etc.
- (c) Socio-economic impact of inflation
  - (i) Direct increase in the cost of products would erode the purchasing power of the people
  - (ii) Inflation is another tax imposed on the people as they have to pay higher price for the same items
  - (iii) Indirect increase in taxes as a result of inflation which has a double impact on price increase since the government wants to tap more revenue when inflation is high
  - (iv) Monthly budgets of households gets disturbed and leads to uncertainty and poverty
  - (v) Increase in poverty is directly related to inflation, taxes which create more inflation
  - (vi) Hurts the pace of economic development and reduces savings and vitiates the investment climate
  - (vii) Reduces flow and circulation of capital in the economy as the businesses start to reduce their borrowing to avoid high cost of financing
- (d) How to reduce inflation in the economy?
  - (i) Less reliance on imported fuel can help in reduce inflation and for this purpose the country needs to reinvent its transport and energy generation system
  - (ii) Less reliance on imported raw materials can help control inflation by switching to domestic alternates
  - (iii) Change in lifestyle and preference of different luxury items
  - (iv) Need to reduce cost of electricity generation by investing in renewable and hydro-electric generation
  - (v) Need to reduce taxes to provide cushion to people so that impact of high inflation can be mitigated
  - (vi) Successful management of supply chains which makes efficient forecast of availability of raw materials, cables and harvests
- (e) Conclusion

## (19)

### The New Boundaries of Cold War are now Drawn between the Powers of the West and the East

#### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
- (b) Shifting geopolitics have pushed Russia and China into closer alignment while exposing differences within the Western coalition on how to respond
- (c) The Russia and Ukraine climax is an effort by the Russians to halt the expansion of the Nato (West) further into the influence of Russia
- (d) Newest Russia-Ukraine skirmish is part of the Russian effort to challenge the expansion of Nato which could threaten the security of Russia
- (e) It has further intensified East-West polarisation and sent tensions soaring to a new high as Russian efforts have also been supported tacitly by China at the eve of Putin-Xi meeting at the sidelines of the Beijing Winter Olympics 2022
- (f) The unfolding crisis over Ukraine has heightened the danger of prolonged turmoil and instability in Europe, this is all about the balance of power and security architecture in Europe
- (g) There are clear signs that apart from US, other Nato countries especially Germany and France share some of the genuine concerns of Russia and may not take the tougher line

- (h) Since the French were ditched by the US, UK and Australia during the AUKUS deal of nuclear submarines; the French have come to the realization that the US would not respect the individual interests of any partners of Nato etc
- (i) France has actively engaged in shuttle diplomacy along with other European heads of state to allay the genuine fears of Russia and to vouch for
- (j) Why US is adamant to control the influence of Russia in Europe and what has happened later than?
  - (i) US doesn't want to lose its position to Russia in Europe and wants a EU that kowtows to the policies of US
  - (ii) Russia is in no mood to tolerate Nato's eastward expansion and has now drawn a red line insisting on a halt to more expansion
  - (iii) US didn't accept key Russian security demands that Ukraine and other states should be barred from joining Nato
  - (iv) Russia demanded that no strategic weapons be deployed in Ukraine and Nato's presence ended in former Soviet countries
  - (v) US warnings irked Russia to go for the use of force, and now Ukraine is under fire
  - (vi) The response from the US-led Western community was swift. Russia's action was roundly condemned by the US and its allies
  - (vii) Western sanctions are now imposed on Russia, aimed at crippling its economy that include limiting its access to international capital markets and freezing its overseas assets
  - (viii) US and Russian presidents are still having exchange over the crisis but no olive branch has been offered by the US to Russia, US-backed Ukraine Government is also not ready to surrender
  - (ix) The question now is whether the West's response to the Russian invasion, of censure and sanctions, will pressure Putin to step back
- (k) What led to suspension of talks between the US and Russia?
  - (i) Russia started with a military build-up on the Ukrainian border
  - (ii) US accused Russia of planning an invasion and warned of serious consequences as it began crafting tough economic sanctions aimed at pressurising the Russians
  - (iii) US warned Russia that it would exclude Russia from the international banking system if Russia invades Ukraine
- (l) How Ukraine crisis and Taiwan issue have brought Russia and China closer together
  - (i) China and US are into a deep trade war over patents and tariffs, Taiwan and US influence in the South China Sea and US brokered Indo-Pacific alliance to offset the power of China in the region
  - (ii) The Ukraine crisis has pushed Russia and China into a tighter embrace and exposed divisions in the West which has shown a hesitant European Union uneager to take on Russia
  - (iii) The meeting between President Putin and Chinese President Xi Jinping on the sidelines of the Winter Olympics in Beijing concluded with a strong expression of solidarity and resolve to mount a united front against the US
  - (iv) Russia reaffirmed support for the One-China principle and on the Taiwan issue while China joined Russia in opposing Nato expansion and called on the Western alliance to respect the national interest of Russia
  - (v) China called on the West to abandon its ideologised Cold War approaches
  - (vi) China and Russia jointly criticised Washington's Indo-Pacific strategy and the trilateral security alliance between the US, Australia and UK (AUKUS) for undermining security and spawning an arms race in Asia
- (m) European Union's response to spat between Russia and US is lukewarm
  - (i) Nato allied did not appear united despite vigorous US efforts to rally Europe into forging a common front against Russia

- (ii) European countries seemed to have differing views about the Russian incursions because of energy and commercial dependencies
- (iii) European nations would be hurt by sanctions on Russia as they have economic ties
- (iv) Western allies of US skeptical about US since they were ignored by the US in its decision to withdraw from Afghanistan
- (v) Germany and US not on the same page on the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline from Russia to Germany that the US wants stopped
- (vi) French President Macron said that Russia wants clear engagement rules with the Nato and EU countries
- (n) Rise of Chinese economic influence and Russian desire to protect its strategic space has made the US jittery
- (o) There exists an overarching global dynamic of growing East-West mistrust and confrontation
- (p) Conclusion

(20)

## UN and its Contribution in Resolving Issues of the Global World

### OUTLINE

- (a) Introduction
  - The United Nations is an international organization, concerned with global issues and having a primary objective of maintaining peace and security, cooperation and maintaining friendly relations among the nations
- (b) The UN works through its six principal organs - the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Economic and Social Council, the International Court of Justice, and the Secretariat
- (c) Each of UN organ is vested with a specific role and responsibility that they adhere to. Chapter 1 of the UN Charter mentions the purposes and principles of the United Nations
- (d) The United Nations along with its specialized agencies assumes a significant job in keeping up harmony and security of the world nations. The UN specialized agencies like the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), UNICEF, World Health Organization, etc. have done noteworthy work in the growth and development of the developed and developing countries. The UN and its members are continuously taking effective measures for tackling global challenges of the present times. It is a stage that provides a forum for discussion for the members to come to a common understanding
- (e) Maintenance of international peace and security balance has been a key concern for the UN and sincere efforts have been made around the globe
  - (i) Maintaining Peace and Security
  - (ii) Making Peace
  - (iii) Consolidating Peace
  - (iv) Preventing Nuclear Proliferation
  - (v) Clearing Landmines
  - (vi) Supporting Disarmament
  - (vii) Combating Terrorism
  - (viii) Preventing Genocide
  - (ix) Combating Sexual Violence in Conflict
- (f) Economic development is a key plank of UN as it has frequently stated combined objectives for development for the developing countries of the world
  - (i) Promoting Development
  - (ii) Alleviating Rural Poverty
  - (iii) Focusing on African Development
  - (iv) Promoting Women's Well-being

- (v) Laying the Groundwork for Business
- (vi) Supporting Industry
- (vii) Fighting Hunger
- (viii) Improving Global Trade
- (ix) Promoting Economic Reform
- (x) Supporting Civil Aviation
- (xi) Improving Shipping
- (xii) Generating Worldwide Commitment in Support of Children
- (xiii) Turning Slums into Decent Human Settlements
- (xiv) Providing Local Access to a Global Network
- (xv) Improving Global Telecommunications
- (xvi) Promoting Responsible Tourism
- (xvii) Mobilizing volunteers for development and peace
- (xviii) Acting as a Global Think-tank
- (h) Social development has been taken up by the UN to improve plight of the people and make available social amenities within their spheres through local and foreign assistance
  - (i) Improving Literacy and Education
  - (ii) Preserving Historic, Cultural, Architectural and Natural Sites
  - (iii) Facilitating Academic and Cultural Exchanges
  - (iv) Addressing Global Problems
  - (v) Taking the Lead on Global Issues
- (i) Human rights have been advocated by the UN to protect minorities, women, LGBT and different sorts of protection for survival
  - (i) Promoting Human Rights
  - (ii) Fostering Democracy
  - (iii) Promoting Self-determination and Independence
  - (iv) Ending Apartheid in South Africa
  - (v) Promoting Women's Rights
  - (vi) Combating Violence against Women
  - (vii) Promoting Decent Work
  - (viii) Promoting Press Freedom and Freedom of Expression
  - (ix) Promoting the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
  - (x) Improving the Plight of Indigenous People
- (j) Environment has remained a prime concern with awareness campaigns for climate change, water availability, control of pollution, etc.
  - (i) Seeking solutions to climate change
  - (ii) Helping countries to cope with climate change
  - (iii) Protecting the Environment
  - (iv) Protecting the Ozone Layer
  - (v) Providing Safe Drinking Water
  - (vi) Tackling Fish Stock Depletion
  - (vii) Banning Toxic Chemicals
- (k) International Law is an area where rights of all countries are recognized equally without any distinction and UN has made efforts to act as an arbiter
  - (i) Prosecuting War Criminals
  - (ii) Strengthening International Law
  - (iii) Helping to Resolve Major International Disputes
  - (iv) Promoting Stability and Order in the World's Oceans
  - (v) Combating International Crime
  - (vi) Containing the World Drug Problem
  - (vii) Encouraging Creativity and Innovation

Humanitarian Affairs have been accorded prime importance so that assistance to refugees, calamity or climate displaced persons have access to livelihood and sustainable living

- (l) Assisting Refugees
- (ii) Aiding Palestinian Refugees
- (iii) Helping Disaster Victims
- (iv) Reducing the Effects of Natural Disasters
- (v) Providing Food to the Needy
- (m) Health and related affairs are covered to have razor sharp focus on issues which could relieve the health concerns of people in developing countries
  - (i) Promoting Reproductive and Maternal Health
  - (ii) Responding to HIV/AIDS
  - (iii) Wiping Out Polio
  - (iv) Eradicating Smallpox
  - (v) Fighting Tropical Diseases
  - (vi) Halting the Spread of Epidemics
  - (vii) Pressing for Universal Immunization
  - (viii) Reducing Child Mortality
  - (ix) Protecting Consumers' Health
- (n) Conclusion

## ENGLISH (PRÉCIS & COMPOSITION)

### LIST OF SYNONYMS & ANTONYMS

The following is a list of common words along with their synonyms (words with more or less similar meaning) and antonyms (words with more or less opposite meaning) to help you tackle the vocabulary section of Synonyms and Antonyms in your examination:

| Word               | Synonyms<br>(Similar Meaning)                         | Antonyms<br>(Opposite Meaning)                        |
|--------------------|---|---|
| <b>Abandon</b>     | Forsake, leave, give up, relinquish,                  | Retain, stay with                                     |
| <b>Abase</b>       | humiliate, disgrace, bring down, humble               | exalt, uplift, honour                                 |
| <b>Abash</b>       | Confuse, feel or made to feel ashamed, confound       | Encourage, cheer to                                   |
| <b>Abate</b>       | Lessen, reduce, diminish, decline                     | Raise, increase, rise, augment                        |
| <b>Abet</b>        | Help, assist, encourage                               | Discourage, hinder, block                             |
| <b>Abhor</b>       | Dislike, detest, hate                                 | approve, like   |
| <b>Abject</b>      | Degraded, mean, groveling, wretched or miserable      | Proud, independent                                    |
| <b>Abnormal</b>    | Unusual, irregular, unnatural                         | Normal, usual, regular                                |
| <b>Abjure</b>      | Disclaim, forswear, repudiate, disavow                | Accept, claim, avow                                   |
| <b>Aboriginal</b>  | Native, indigenous                                    | Immigrant, imported                                   |
| <b>Abortive</b>    | Futile, unsuccessful, fruitless, miscarriage of birth | Successful, effective, well-time                      |
| <b>Abridge</b>     | Condense, summarized, shorten, curtail                | Expand, extend, enlarge                               |
| <b>Abscond</b>     | Decamp, run away, go away secretly                    | Remain, stay, live in                                 |
| <b>Absolve</b>     | Acquit, release, pardon, set free from guilt          | Condemn, sentence                                     |
| <b>Abstain</b>     | Refrain, desist, forbear                              | Continue, permit                                      |
| <b>Abstruse</b>    | Hidden, obscure, deep                                 | Simple, open, revealed                                |
| <b>Abundant</b>    | Ample, plentiful, rich, exuberant                     | Meager, inadequate, poor, insufficient                |
| <b>Abuse</b>       | Injure, maltreat, revile, upbraid                     | Praise, use well                                      |
| <b>Accede</b>      | Consent, assent, comply                               | Refuse, resign, quit                                  |
| <b>Accelerate</b>  | Hasten, expedite, quicken                             | Retard, hinder, reduce speed                          |
| <b>Accession</b>   | Addition, enlargement, extension                      | Diminution, loss                                      |
| <b>Accommodate</b> | Suit, reconcile, oblige                               | Refuse, disoblige                                     |
| <b>Accomplish</b>  | Finish, fulfil, execute, achieve                      | Fail, leave undone                                    |
| <b>Accord</b>      | Agreement, harmony, willingness                       | Discord, disagreement, unwillingness                  |
| <b>Accredited</b>  | Authorized, entrusted, delegated                      | Discredited, unauthorized                             |
| <b>Accumulate</b>  | Collect, pile up, store                               | Squander, waste, distribute                           |
| <b>Acute</b>       | Sharp, penetrating                                    | Dull, blunt   |
| <b>Addicted</b>    | Devoted, accustomed to                                | Unaddicted, free                                      |
| <b>Adept</b>       | Skilful, expert                                       | Clumsy, not expert/inexpert                           |
| <b>Adhere</b>      | Stick, abide by, cling                                | Break from, come undone                               |
| <b>Adjacent</b>    | Close, near, contiguous                               | Remote, distant, far away                             |
| <b>Adjourn</b>     | Postpone, defer, delay, put off, suspend              | Advance, hurry on schedule                            |
| <b>Adoration</b>   | Worship, reverence, beautify                          | Irreverence, contempt, disfiguring, marring           |
| <b>Affinity</b>    | Alliance, liking, sympathy, attraction                | Dislike, discord, antipathy, repulsion, repugnance    |
| <b>Aggravate</b>   | Intensify, make worse                                 | Diminish, reduce, please, satisfy, reconcile, recover |

|                     |   |  |
|---------------------|---|--|
| <b>Alienate</b>     | Estrange, transfer, desolation                                | Reconcile, recover   |
| <b>Alienation</b>   | Desolation, disaffection                                      | Allegiance, camaraderie, companionship, fellowship                     |
| <b>Allegiance</b>   | Loyalty, fidelity, fealty                                     | Disloyalty, treachery, disaffection, rebellion                         |
| <b>Alleviate</b>    | Lessen, lighten, reduce                                       | Enlarge, escalate, heighten  |
| <b>Alliance</b>     | Union, combination, league, confederation                     | Separation, opposition, disunion, division                             |
| <b>Altercation</b>  | Quarrel, dispute, discord, friction, strife                   | Agreement, consensus   |
| <b>Ambiguous</b>    | Doubtful, uncertain, suspicion, skepticism                    | Clear, simple, certainty, confidence                                   |
| <b>Ameliorate</b>   | Improve, amend, meliorate                                     | Worsen, spoil, impair, deteriorate                                     |
| <b>Amiable</b>      | Lovable, charming, agreeable, affable                         | Unlovable, unattractive  |
| <b>Amicable</b>     | Friendly, cordial, in goodwill                                | Unfriendly, cold   |
| <b>Analogy</b>      | Likeness, resemblance, comparison                             | Difference, dissimilar   |
| <b>Annihilate</b>   | Destroy, abolish, nullify, wipe out, reduce                   | Restore, ratify, improve   |
| <b>Annul</b>        | Cancel, quash, nullify, wipe out, reduce                      | Restore, ratify, improve   |
| <b>Antagonistic</b> | Opposed, adverse, hostile, rival                              | Friendly, sympathetic, associated                                      |
| <b>Anticipate</b>   | Forestall, forecast, prejudge, foresee                        | Be behindhand, miss  |
| <b>Antique</b>      | Ancient, old, hoary, immemorial                               | Modern, fresh, new, young, recent, up-to-date, novel                   |
| <b>Apparent</b>     | Clear, evident, plain, conspicuous, manifest, obvious         | Obscure, invisible, concealed, hidden, secret, implicit, inconspicuous |
| <b>Appease</b>      | Assuage, pacify, lessen, alleviate, lighten                   | Provoke, vex, enlarge, escalate, extend, heighten                      |
| <b>Applaud</b>      | Cheer, approve  | Cry down, hiss   |
| <b>Applause</b>     | Acclaim, acclamation, plaudit                                 | Abuse, disapproval, jeering, booing, censure                           |
| <b>Apposite</b>     | Pertinent, relevant, apt                                      | Irrelevant, inapposite   |
| <b>Apprise</b>      | Inform, acquaint, notify, advise, enlighten                   | Keep secret, misinform   |
| <b>Apprehend</b>    | Grasp, seize, arrest, perceive, fear                          | Miss, relax, let go, misunderstand                                     |
| <b>Approbation</b>  | Approval, sanction, commendation                              | Disapproval, censure, dissatisfaction                                  |
| <b>Arbitrary</b>    | Tyrannical, dictatorial, absolute, imperious                  | Reasonable, mild, constitutional                                       |
| <b>Arduous</b>      | Difficult, laborious  | Easy, light, simple  |
| <b>Ardent</b>       | Fiery, heated, hot, passionate, fervent, impassioned, zealous | Calm, cool, impassive  |
| <b>Arrogant</b>     | Haughty, indolent, overbearing, imperious                     | Humble, tolerant, modest, docile, obsequious                           |
| <b>Ascendancy</b>   | Superiority, mastery, upper hand                              | Inferiority, subjection  |
| <b>Assail</b>       | attack, assault, storm, besiege, charge                       | defend, protect, uphold  |
| <b>Assuage</b>      | Calm, tranquilize, lessen, alleviate, lighten, allay          | Excite, disturb, enlarge, escalate, extend, heighten, toughen          |
| <b>Atonement</b>    | Reconciliation, amends, propitiation.                         | Derange, disarrange, disjoin, dislocate, misfit                        |
| <b>Audacious</b>    | Bold, daring, disdainful, insolent, scornful                  | Timid, shrinking, considerate, humble, polite, respectful              |
| <b>Augment</b>      | Increase, enlarge, swell, extend                              | Decrease, lessen, reduce   |
| <b>Authentic</b>    | True, certain, genuine, veritable                             | Unauthentic, spurious  |
| <b>Auspicious</b>   | Lucky, favorable  | Unfavorable, unlucky   |
| <b>Avenge</b>       | Retaliate, punish   | Forgive, pardon, overlook  |
| <b>Awful</b>        | Venerable, solemn, dreadful, shocking                         | Secular, unimpressive, pleasant  |
| <b>Awkward</b>      | Clumsy, unhandy, rude, clownish, ungainly                     | Handy, clever, graceful, refined                                       |
| <b>Baffle</b>       | Defeat, elude, puzzle, confuse, perplex, mystify              | Clarify, inform, easy  |
| <b>Barbarous</b>    | Uncivilized, cruel  | Civilized, gentle  |

|                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| <b>Bare</b>           | Naked, nude, stripped   | Clothed, covered, dressed                                       |
| <b>Barricade</b>      | Obstacle, barrier, hurdle,                                    | Help, open, approachable  |
| <b>Beguile</b>        | Deceive, cheat  | Enlighten, treat, honesty                                       |
| <b>Benevolent</b>     | Charitable, benign, kindness, generosity, unselfishness       | Malevolent, uncharitable, malice, stinginess, egoism, merciless |
| <b>Betray</b>         | Disclose, divulge, deceive, cheat, give away                  | Conceal, defend, be loyal                                       |
| <b>Bewilder</b>       | Puzzle, perplex, confuse                                      | Enlighten, illuminate   |
| <b>Binding</b>        | Compulsory, obligatory  | Voluntary, laxative   |
| <b>Biased</b>         | One-sided, partial, partisan, prejudiced, slanted, subjective | Disinterested, open minded, unbiased                            |
| <b>Bigotry</b>        | Bias, intolerance, narrow-mindedness                          | Impartiality, objectivity                                       |
| <b>Blandishment</b>   | Flattery, coaxing   | Bluntness, disrespect   |
| <b>Blasphemy</b>      | Profanity, swearing, cursing, obscenity, vulgarity, obscene   | Reverence, exquisite, polite                                    |
| <b>Blatant</b>        | noisy, vociferous, clamorous                                  | Quiet, gentle, soothing   |
| <b>Bleak</b>          | Cold, cheerless, barren, desolate, weak                       | Warm, comfortable, luxurious, healthy                           |
| <b>Bliss</b>          | Happiness, delight  | Unhappiness, misery   |
| <b>Bloom</b>          | Freshness, flush  | Decay, withered state   |
| <b>Boggle</b>         | Falter, doubt, waver, shrink, demur, shirk                    | Be certain, act promptly, consent, accede                       |
| <b>Bombastic</b>      | Turgid, fustian   | Simple, quiet, brief, sober speech                              |
| <b>Brandish</b>       | Flourish, swing, wield  | Arrest, hang, suspend   |
| <b>Brashness</b>      | Brass, cheek, gall, hide, nerve                               | Civility, meekness, politeness                                  |
| <b>Brevity</b>        | Shortness, conciseness, succinctness, summarized              | Lengthy, long-windedness, circumlocution                        |
| <b>Brutal</b>         | Cruel, rough, beastlike                                       | Human kindly, gentle  |
| <b>Brusque</b>        | Abrupt, rude, blunt, blust, curt, gruff, surly                | Diplomatic, gracious, mannerly, polite, urbane                  |
| <b>Bystander</b>      | Looker-on, onlooker, spectator, beholder                      | Performer, actor  |
| <b>Candid</b>         | Fair, impartial, just, frank, ingenuous                       | Unfair, partial, biased, disingenuous                           |
| <b>Canvass</b>        | Investigate, scrutinize, inspect, solicit                     | Leave alone, refuse   |
| <b>Caprice</b>        | Freak, whim, fancy, vagary                                    | Steadfastness   |
| <b>Captivity</b>      | Bondage, servitude  | Freedom, liberty  |
| <b>Catastrophe</b>    | Calamity, debacle, disaster, cataclysm                        | Benefit, blessing, boon, comfort, success                       |
| <b>Caress</b>         | Fondle, hug, embrace  | Repel, discourage   |
| <b>Cease</b>          | Leave off, stop, desist                                       | Begin, continue   |
| <b>Cede</b>           | Give up, surrender, yield, relinquish                         | Hold, refuse  |
| <b>Censure</b>        | Blame, condemn, rebuke, admonish, reprimand                   | Praise, commend, endorse  |
| <b>Ceremonious</b>    | Formal, solemn, courtly, ritual                               | Unceremonious, informal, undignified, haphazard                 |
| <b>Cessation</b>      | Ending, pause, rest, ceasing, intermission, discontinuance    | Beginning, continuance  |
| <b>Cheer</b>          | Gladden, encourage, exhilarate, refresh                       | Chill, depress, dispirit, ridicule, sadden, disheartened        |
| <b>Cherish</b>        | Nourish, foster, entertain, harbour                           | Neglect, repel  |
| <b>Chivalrous</b>     | Heroic, brace   | Cowardly, ungallant   |
| <b>Circumlocution</b> | Euphemism, euphuism, indirectness, periphrasis                | Brevity, conciseness, condensation, directness, succinctness    |
| <b>Circumscribe</b>   | Bound, contain, encircle, enclose, encompass, surround        | Open, unbound   |
| <b>Coalition</b>      | Alliance, combination   | Disunion, separation  |
| <b>Coarse</b>         | Rough, gross, thick, rude, vulgar                             | Thin, fine, refined   |
| <b>Coerce</b>         | Compel, force, subdue, oblige, constrain                      | Persuade, lead, free, cooperate, coincide, collaborate          |

|                      |   |
|----------------------|---|
| <b>Collateral</b>    | Indirect, not lineal, confirmatory                      |
| <b>Colossal</b>      | Gigantic, huge, large                                   |
| <b>Combat</b>        | Struggle, fight, encounter                              |
| <b>Commensurate</b>  | Equal, equivalent, tantamount, synonymous               |
| <b>Commodious</b>    | Convenient, roomy                                       |
| <b>Compassion</b>    | Pity, sympathy  |
| <b>Comprehensive</b> | Inclusive, extensive                                    |
| <b>Compress</b>      | Squeeze, contract                                       |
| <b>Conceal</b>       | Hide, cover, keep secret                                |
| <b>Concede</b>       | Allow, permit, yield                                    |
| <b>Concise</b>       | Short, brief, succinct                                  |
| <b>Concord</b>       | Agreement, accord                                       |
| <b>Condemn</b>       | Blame, censure, disapprove                              |
| <b>Confer</b>        | Give, bestow, award, accord, grant                      |
| <b>Conjure</b>       | Adjure, implore, beckon, invoke, beseech                |
| <b>Conscientious</b> | Exact, honorable, meticulous, punctilious               |
| <b>Considerate</b>   | Thoughtful, unselfish                                   |
| <b>Consign</b>       | Deposit, commit, deliver                                |
| <b>Conspicuous</b>   | Noticeable, remarkable                                  |
| <b>Conspiracy</b>    | Plot, combination, league, intrigue                     |
| <b>Contemptible</b>  | Despicable, detestable, execrable                       |
| <b>Contemptuous</b>  | Audacious, disdainful, insolent, scornful, supercilious |
| <b>Contradict</b>    | Contravene, deny, oppose, controvert, disprove, refute  |
| <b>Contravene</b>    | Contradict, interfere, oppose, counteract, refute       |
| <b>Corroborate</b>   | Strengthen, establish                                   |
| <b>Coruscate</b>     | Flash, glitter, gleam                                   |
| <b>Countenance</b>   | Favour, sanction, approve                               |
| <b>Counterfeit</b>   | Forged, spurious, shoddy, snide, apocryphal             |
| <b>Crafty</b>        | Cunning, artful   |
| <b>Cripple</b>       | Lame, disable, weak, hobble, gammy, halt                |
| <b>Cruel</b>         | Brutal, bestial, nasty, sadistic                        |
| <b>Culmination</b>   | Summit, zenith, top                                     |
| <b>Cursory</b>       | Transient, rapid, careless, hasty, scant                |
| <b>Danger</b>        | Hazard, jeopardy, menace, peril, risk, threat           |
| <b>Daring</b>        | Adventurous, venturesome                                |
| <b>Dainty</b>        | Delicious, palatable, nice, delicate, neat              |
| <b>Dash</b>          | Hurl, cast, smash, destroy, abash, rush                 |
| <b>Daunt</b>         | Dismay, terrify, scare                                  |
| <b>Dawdle</b>        | Procrastinate, dally, dilly-dally, loiter               |
| <b>Debar</b>         | Hinder, exclude, prevent, shut out                      |
| <b>Debase</b>        | Degrade, humiliate, disgrace, humble, demean, downgrade |
| <b>Debility</b>      | Weakness, infirmity                                     |
| <b>Declare</b>       | Advertise, announce, enunciate, proclaim                |
| <b>Decrease</b>      | Abate, decline, drop, fall, sink, subside               |
| <b>Decorum</b>       | Propriety, decency, gravity, staidness                  |
| <b>Deface</b>        | Disfigure, damage                                       |
| <b>Defame</b>        | Malign, asperse, libel, slander, vilify                 |

|                      |   |  |
|----------------------|---|--|
| <b>Deference</b>     | Respect, reverence, honour, homage                                    | Disrespect, rudeness   |
| <b>Defile</b>        | Corrupt, soil, stain, contaminate                                     | Cleanse, purify  |
| <b>Deformity</b>     | Malformation, ugliness, disfigure, blemish, deform, deface            | Shapeliness, adorn, beautify, conserve, restore                |
| <b>Defray</b>        | Discharge, liquidate, settle  | Be in debt   |
| <b>Defraud</b>       | Cheat, fleece, swindle  | Honest, sincere  |
| <b>Deleterious</b>   | Harmful, deadly, killing  | Harmless, innocuous  |
| <b>Demur</b>         | Pause, stop, hesitate, recoil, shirk, shy                             | Agree, act promptly, accept, consent, accede                   |
| <b>Depose</b>        | Dethrone, degrade   | Enthrone, exalt  |
| <b>Depraved</b>      | Corrupt, degenerate, evil, heinous, infamous, nefarious, vile, wicked | Pious, chaste  |
| <b>Descend</b>       | Decline, drop, fail, sink   | Climb, increase, lift, soar                                    |
| <b>Desert</b>        | Abandon, run away   | Stay with, retain  |
| <b>Despair</b>       | Dejection, depression, desperation, hopelessness.                     | Confidence, encouragement, expectation, hope, optimism         |
| <b>Desist</b>        | Leave off, stop   | Continue, go on  |
| <b>Despotic</b>      | Unconstitutional, arbitrary, autocratic, dictatorial, tyrannical      | Constitutional, reasonable, democratic, lawful, representative |
| <b>Destitute</b>     | Wanting, needy, poor  | Well-provided, well to do                                      |
| <b>Desultory</b>     | Rambling, casual, random  | Steady, straight-forward orderly, systematic                   |
| <b>Deteriorate</b>   | Lower, spoil, decline   | Ameliorate, improve  |
| <b>Devoid</b>        | Empty, vacant   | Full, well, supplied   |
| <b>Devout</b>        | Religious, pious  | Irreligious, profane   |
| <b>Dilapidated</b>   | Ruined, wasted  | Restored, in repair  |
| <b>Dilate</b>        | Expand, widen, broaden  | Contract, narrow, squeeze                                      |
| <b>Diligence</b>     | Industrious, care   | Laziness, slackness  |
| <b>Discern</b>       | Perceive, descry  | Misunderstand, confuse   |
| <b>Disconsolate</b>  | Sad, cheerless, disturb   | Happy, cheerful, glad  |
| <b>Disgrace</b>      | Abase, debase, degrade, demean, downgrade, humble                     | Compliment, exalt, praise, raise, respect                      |
| <b>Disinterested</b> | Fair, impartial, unbiased, objective                                  | Interested, biased, partial, subjective                        |
| <b>Disown</b>        | Disclaim, deny  | Acknowledge, accept  |
| <b>Disseminate</b>   | Spread, scatter, disperse, broadcast, diffuse                         | Withhold, withdraw, unite, gather                              |
| <b>Dogmatic</b>      | Authoritative   | vague  |
| <b>Dreadful</b>      | Awful, appalling, ugly  | Harmless, pleasing, soothing                                   |
| <b>Dress</b>         | Apparel, attire, costume, garb, gear                                  | Undress, unclothed   |
| <b>Dwell</b>         | Reside, abide, live   | Travel, move on  |
| <b>Dwindle</b>       | Decrease, shrink, decline, reduce                                     | Increase, grow, expand, extend                                 |
| <b>Eager</b>         | Avid, desirous, intent, enthusiastic, keen                            | Impassive, indifferent, listless, uninterested, uninvolved     |
| <b>Earnest</b>       | Eager, ardent   | Slack, apathetic   |
| <b>Eccentric</b>     | Irregular, anomalous  | Concentric, regular  |
| <b>Eccentricity</b>  | Idiosyncrasy, oddity, quirk   | Commonness, normality, ordinariness, conventionality           |
| <b>Eclipse</b>       | Overshadow, dim, obscure  | Reveal, illumine   |
| <b>Ecstasy</b>       | Rapture, transport  | Calmness, agony, displeasure                                   |
| <b>Edible</b>        | Eatable, harmless   | Uneatable, inedible  |
| <b>Efficacy</b>      | Force, energy, virtue, potency, competency                            | Weakness, impotence, incompetency                              |
| <b>Elegant</b>       | Graceful, refined, deluxe, elaborate, luxurious, sumptuous            | Unrefined, mediocre, simple, unadorned, usual, vulgar          |
| <b>Embarrass</b>     | Confuse, entangle   | Help, enable   |

|                      |  |   |
|----------------------|--|---|
| <b>Embarrassment</b> | Chagrin, shame, humiliation, discomposure, mortification         | Brashness, composure, confidence, contentment, exaltation, temerity |
| <b>Emotion</b>       | Affect, desire, feeling, passion, sentiment                      | Indifference, reason, insensitivity, rationality                    |
| <b>Encroach</b>      | Intrude, trespass, infringe, invade, violate                     | Keep away from, desist, withdraw, respect                           |
| <b>Endorse</b>       | Approve, sanction, back, confirm, ratify, O.K.                   | Disapprove, oppose, censure, condemn, reject, reprehend             |
| <b>Endow</b>         | Dower, furnish, bequest  | Deprive, withhold   |
| <b>Endurance</b>     | Continuance, persist, withstand, sustain                         | Cessation, forgo, relinquish, submit, bear, cope, put up with       |
| <b>Enormous</b>      | Colossal, gigantic, large  | Small, puny, compact  |
| <b>Ensue</b>         | Follow, succeed  | Go before, cause  |
| <b>Entangle</b>      | Involve, implicate, ravel  | Unravel, free, clear  |
| <b>Entice</b>        | Allure, attract, yield   | Repel, repulse, resist  |
| <b>Entrap</b>        | Entangle, ensnare  | Set free, liberate  |
| <b>Envy</b>          | Jealousy, ill-will   | Good-will, contentedness  |
| <b>Esposse</b>       | Betroth, marry, support  | Refuse, oppose, resist  |
| <b>Escalate</b>      | Increase, intensify, step up                                     | Decrease, lessen, reduce, weaken                                    |
| <b>Escape</b>        | Abscond, flee, fly, retreat, run away                            | Confront, face, follow, remain, submit, surrender                   |
| <b>Eternal</b>       | Endless, everlasting, permanent                                  | Transient, temporary, non-permanent                                 |
| <b>Everlasting</b>   | Endless, eternal, timeless, interminable, never-ending, unending | Finite, temporary   |
| <b>Exaggerate</b>    | Amplify, magnify   | Minimize, understate  |
| <b>Exalt</b>         | Lift up, raise, elevate  | Cast down, lower  |
| <b>Excel</b>         | Surpass, superior  | Fail, inferior  |
| <b>Exclaim</b>       | Call out, vociferate   | Be silent, quiet  |
| <b>Exhale</b>        | Breath out, evaporate, eject, reject, vomit                      | Inhale, intake, assimilate  |
| <b>Exile</b>         | Banish, expulsion, expatriation, deport, relegate, rusticate     | Repatriation, welcome, greet  |
| <b>Expatriate</b>    | Exile, expel, foreigner  | Repatriate, recall  |
| <b>Exonerate</b>     | Absolve, acquit, vindicate, exculpate                            | Accuse, implicate   |
| <b>Explicit</b>      | Delicate, fine, graceful, polished, refined                      | Clumsy, unrefined, common, coarse, rough                            |
| <b>Extraneous</b>    | Lessen, reduce, decrease, decline                                | Heighten, intensify, enhance, exaggerate                            |
| <b>Extinguish</b>    | Quench, annihilate   | Light, kindle   |
| <b>Extraneous</b>    | Foreign, extrinsic, immaterial, inessential                      | Native, intrinsic, relevant, significant                            |
| <b>Extricate</b>     | Emancipate, free   | Enslave, bind   |
| <b>Fabulous</b>      | False, not real, fictitious, mythical                            | True, real, actual, based on facts dull, serious                    |
| <b>Facetious</b>     | Merry, jesting   | Dull, serious   |
| <b>Fantastic</b>     | Fanciful, imaginative, queer                                     | Real, practical   |
| <b>Fastidious</b>    | Particular, meticulous   | Indifferent, careless   |
| <b>Feeble</b>        | Weak, debilitated, frail, faint, dim, imbecile                   | Strong, vigorous, sane  |
| <b>Ferocity</b>      | Cruelty, savagery  | Kindness, gentleness  |
| <b>Fervent</b>       | Glowing, vehement  | Cool, unimpassioned   |
| <b>Fictitious</b>    | False, untrue, not real  | True, genuine, actual   |
| <b>Figurative</b>    | Typical, metaphysical  | Actual, straightforward   |
| <b>Finite</b>        | Bounded, limited   | Infinite, unlimited   |
| <b>Flimsy</b>        | Slight, thin, trivial  | Substantial, serious  |
| <b>Fluctuate</b>     | Waver, vacillate, vibrate, oscillate, swing                      | Constant, uniform   |
| <b>Fold</b>          | Crease, crimp, line, wrinkle, pleat                              | Smooth, straighten, unfold  |

|                      |   |   |
|----------------------|---|---|
| <b>Forgo</b>         | Give up, sacrifice, waive                               | Demand, keep, preserve                        |
| <b>Fortify</b>       | Secure, strengthen, brace, encourage, entrench          | Weaken, discourage, unnerve                   |
| <b>Fragile</b>       | Weak, brittle, frail, delicate, frangible, friable      | Strong, solid, tough, flexible, malleable     |
| <b>Fraudulent</b>    | Dishonest, cheating                                     | Honest, candour, sincere                      |
| <b>Frivolous</b>     | Foolish, vain   | Grave, serious                                |
| <b>Frown</b>         | Grimace, pout, scowl                                    | Smile   |
| <b>Funeral</b>       | Dismal, mournful, gloomy                                | Cheerful, bright                              |
| <b>Furtive</b>       | Stealthy, secret, sly, sneaky, surreptitious            | Open, above, board, overt, obvious            |
| <b>Futility</b>      | Useless, vanity, worthlessness                          | Utility, advantage, profitable                |
| <b>Gaiety</b>        | Joyousness, festivity                                   | Sadness, mourning                             |
| <b>Gale</b>          | Blizzard, breeze, cyclone, hurricane, tornado, typhoon. | Peace, tranquility                            |
| <b>Gallantry</b>     | Courage, bravery, heroism, chivalry                     | Cowardice, poltroonery                        |
| <b>Ghastly</b>       | Spectral, pallid, horrible                              | Corporeal, alive, pleasing                    |
| <b>Gauche</b>        | Boorish, maladroit, tactless, uncouth, unpolished       | Urbane, adroit, polite, considerate           |
| <b>Genuine</b>       | Actual, authentic, real, true                           | Artificial, fake, forged, spurious, imaginary |
| <b>Gloomy</b>        | Dark, dreary, grey, dim                                 | Cheerful, bright, gay                         |
| <b>Gorgeous</b>      | Splendid, superb, neat                                  | Shabby, mean, dirty                           |
| <b>Grandeur</b>      | Splendor, greatness                                     | Shabbiness, sordidness                        |
| <b>Gratification</b> | Enjoyment, delight                                      | Disappointment, dissatisfaction               |
| <b>Grim</b>          | Sullen, surly   | Mild, gentle                                  |
| <b>Gratuitous</b>    | Voluntary, spontaneous                                  | Mercenary, paid for                           |
| <b>Grudge</b>        | Envy, jealousy  | Goodwill, love                                |
| <b>Gruesome</b>      | Ghastly, grim, grisly, hideous, lurid, macabre          | Charming, delightful, pleasing                |
| <b>Gullible</b>      | Credulous, trusting                                     | Critical, doubtful, dubious, sceptical        |
| <b>Gush</b>          | Flow, stream  | Stop, cease, finish                           |
| <b>Hackneyed</b>     | Common, stale   | Novel, fresh                                  |
| <b>Hamper</b>        | Shackle, clog, hinder                                   | Release, accelerate                           |
| <b>Hapless</b>       | Unfortunate, unlucky                                    | Lucky, fortunate                              |
| <b>Harbor</b>        | Shelter, lodge, dwell                                   | Eject, banish, remove                         |
| <b>Harmony</b>       | Concord, agreement, accord                              | Discord, disagreement                         |
| <b>Hazardous</b>     | Adventurous, bold, dangerous, threatening               | Protected, safeguarded                        |
| <b>Heartily</b>      | Cordially, ardently                                     | Insincere, cold                               |
| <b>Herculean</b>     | Laborious, colossal, difficult                          | Slight, easy, simple                          |
| <b>Homogeneous</b>   | Uniform, similar, pure                                  | Heterogeneous, mixed                          |
| <b>Hobby</b>         | Avocation, pastime, sport, recreation                   | Business, labour, livelihood, profession      |
| <b>Humane</b>        | Gentle, kind  | Cruel, ungentle                               |
| <b>Hostile</b>       | Belligerent, unfriendly                                 | Cordial, friendly, tolerant                   |
| <b>Humility</b>      | Humbleness, modesty                                     | Pride, arrogance                              |
| <b>Humorous</b>      | Comic, comical, funny, jocular, witty                   | Gloomy, dull, sedate                          |
| <b>Husky</b>         | Beefy, stocky, brawny                                   | Thin, lean, weak                              |
| <b>Hypocrisy</b>     | Deceit, imposture                                       | Honesty, sincerely                            |
| <b>Hypocritical</b>  | Treachorous, disloyal, false, traitorous                | Candid, honest, loyal, moral, sincere         |
| <b>Identity</b>      | Sameness, oneness                                       | Difference, not similar                       |
| <b>Imbibe</b>        | Absorb, engross, assimilate, digest                     | Eject, discharge, vomit                       |
| <b>Immaculate</b>    | Spotless, stainless                                     | Spotted, stained                              |
| <b>Immerse</b>       | Dip, plunge, douse, submerge                            | Draw out                                      |
| <b>Immunity</b>      | Exemption, release, freedom, privilege                  | Subjection, liability                         |
| <b>Impatient</b>     | Hindrance, prevention                                   | Facility, liberty                             |
| <b>Imperative</b>    | Obligatory, commanding, important, essential            | Unimportant, submissive, not compulsory       |

|                      |  |  |
|----------------------|--|--|
| <b>Impertinent</b>   | Irrelevant, impudent                                       | Pertinent, relevant                                |
| <b>Implicate</b>     | Entangle, involve  | Exclude  |
| <b>Impel</b>         | Drive, motivate, move                                      | Inhibit, prevent, quell                            |
| <b>Implicit</b>      | Implied, inferred, covert                                  | Expressed, reserved, exposed                       |
| <b>Impenetrable</b>  | Impassable, impermeable, impervious                        | Accessible, open, permeable                        |
| <b>Imposter</b>      | Cheat, rogue   | Honest person                                      |
| <b>Imitate</b>       | Ape, copy, mimic, impersonate                              | Create, originate                                  |
| <b>Inaccessible</b>  | Unapproachable, distant, remote                            | Approachable, accessible                           |
| <b>Inadvertent</b>   | Inattentive, careless, over-sighted                        | Attentive, heedful, thoughtful                     |
| <b>Inclement</b>     | Unmerciful, harsh  | Clement, merciful                                  |
| <b>Incumbent</b>     | Binding, compulsory, obligatory                            | Unnecessary, non compulsory                        |
| <b>Indemnify</b>     | Compensate, reward, repay                                  | Inflict, loss                                      |
| <b>Industrious</b>   | Busy, active, laborious                                    | Idle, lazy   |
| <b>Inevitable</b>    | Unavoidable, necessary                                     | Avoidable, unnecessary                             |
| <b>Induce</b>        | Cajole, coax, persuade, urge, wheedle                      | Hinder, repel, subdue, discourage                  |
| <b>Infirm</b>        | Debilitated, sickly  | Strong, healthy, stout                             |
| <b>Infinite</b>      | Boundless, illimitable, limitless                          | Circumscribed, finite, limited                     |
| <b>Infringe</b>      | Break, violate   | Submit, obey                                       |
| <b>Insanity</b>      | Lunacy, madness  | Sanity, sensibility                                |
| <b>Insipid</b>       | Tasteless, dull, flavored                                  | Tasty, well-flavored                               |
| <b>Instantaneous</b> | Immediate, quick, momentary                                | Future, remote, tardy                              |
| <b>Intermission</b>  | Suspension, stoppage                                       | Continuance, resume                                |
| <b>Intervention</b>  | Interposition, mediation, involvement                      | Neglect, hindrance                                 |
| <b>Intricate</b>     | Involved, complicated, obscure, knotty                     | Straightforward, simple, clear, easy               |
| <b>Intrude</b>       | Invoke, encroach   | Keep away, respect                                 |
| <b>Insolvent</b>     | Bankrupt, broke, impecunious                               | Affluent, flush, rich, well-to-do                  |
| <b>Intuition</b>     | Insight, instinct  | Calculation, inference                             |
| <b>Involuntary</b>   | Compulsory, automatic                                      | voluntary, spontaneous                             |
| <b>Intimidate</b>    | Browbeat, bulldoze, bully, daunt, dismay, terrorize        | Blandish, encourage, induce                        |
| <b>Jeopardize</b>    | Hazard, endanger   | Secure, preserve                                   |
| <b>Jeopardy</b>      | Danger, hazard, menace, peril, risk, threat                | Defence, protection, safety                        |
| <b>Jolly</b>         | Jovial, festive  | Miserable, dull                                    |
| <b>Jubilant</b>      | Exulting, rejoicing  | Despondent, despairing                             |
| <b>Judicious</b>     | Discerning, prudent, well-advised                          | Indiscreet, imprudent                              |
| <b>Jumble</b>        | Conglomerate, mess, muddle, farrago, confuse               | Clear, straightforward, sequential, order, arrange |
| <b>Juvenile</b>      | Youthful, young  | Senile, old  |
| <b>Jurisdiction</b>  | Authority, dominion  | Forbidding, preventing                             |
| <b>Kindle</b>        | Fire, ignite, inflame, light quench, stifle, smother       | Darken, extinguish                                 |
| <b>Knotty</b>        | Hard, intricate  | Smooth, easy, simple                               |
| <b>Knack</b>         | Aptitude, faculty, gift                                    | Ineptitude, incompetence                           |
| <b>Laborious</b>     | Tiresome, wearisome  | Easy, light, simple                                |
| <b>Lack</b>          | Absence, dearth, shortage                                  | Abundance, sufficiency                             |
| <b>Lavish</b>        | Excessive, extravagant, prodigal                           | Restrained, economical                             |
| <b>Legend</b>        | Myth, fable, tradition                                     | True story, fact, reality                          |
| <b>Lethal</b>        | Deadly, mortal, fatal                                      | Harmless, enlivening, life-giving, invigorating    |
| <b>Lofty</b>         | High, tall, elevated, towering, outstanding, summit, steep | Low, depressed, degraded, short                    |
| <b>Lucrative</b>     | Profitable, paying   | Unprofitable, losing                               |
| <b>Luminous</b>      | Light, bright  | Dark, obscure                                      |

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| <b>Lunacy</b>       | Insanity, madness  | Sanity, mental, soundness                           |
| <b>Luster</b>       | Brilliance, brightness                                     | Dimness, plainness                                  |
| <b>Luxuriant</b>    | Abundant, profuse  | Scanty, barren, scarcity                            |
| <b>Magnitude</b>    | Size, bulk, largeness                                      | Smallness   |
| <b>Malice</b>       | Spite, hate  | Charity, love                                       |
| <b>Malign</b>       | Asperse, defame, libel, slander, vilify, lampoon           | Praise, eulogize                                    |
| <b>Massive</b>      | Enormous, hefty, huge, immense, vast                       | Minute, small, thin                                 |
| <b>Manifest</b>     | Exhibit, show, obvious, conspicuous, evident               | Conceal, suppress, hidden, implicit, secret         |
| <b>Meager</b>       | Scanty, poor   | Plentiful, plump                                    |
| <b>Melodious</b>    | Tuneful, musical   | Unmelodious, tuneless                               |
| <b>Mercenary</b>    | Hired, mercenary   | Voluntary, generous                                 |
| <b>Mingle</b>       | Mix, blend   | Dissolve, disentangle                               |
| <b>Migrate</b>      | Emigrate, immigrate, move, travel                          | Remain, stationary                                  |
| <b>Migratory</b>    | Wandering, unsettled                                       | Settled, stationary                                 |
| <b>Miraculous</b>   | Marvelous, wonderful                                       | Normal, natural                                     |
| <b>Misery</b>       | Sorrow, distress   | Joy, comfort  |
| <b>Miserable</b>    | Dismal, sorry, unhappy                                     | Cheerful, contended, joyous                         |
| <b>Moderate</b>     | Restrained, limited  | Immoderate, excessive                               |
| <b>Monotonous</b>   | Uninflected, dull, boring, tedious, tiresome               | Melodious, cheerful, stimulating, exciting          |
| <b>Monstrous</b>    | Prodigious, horrible                                       | Ordinary, normal                                    |
| <b>Mortal</b>       | Perishable, deadly   | Immortal, imperishable                              |
| <b>Mutable</b>      | chargeable, variable                                       | Settled, unchanging                                 |
| <b>Mutiny</b>       | Insubordination, revolt                                    | Loyalty, subordination                              |
| <b>Mystify</b>      | Puzzle, perplex  | Illuminate, enlighten                               |
| <b>Myth</b>         | Fable, legend, saga  | Fact, history                                       |
| <b>Native</b>       | Aboriginal, indigenous, autochthonous, endemic             | Alien, exotic, foreign, immigrant, imported         |
| <b>Nebulous</b>     | Cloudy, misty, confused                                    | Clear, unclouded                                    |
| <b>Nefarious</b>    | Depraved, corrupt, evil, heinous, villainous               | Innocent, moral, pious                              |
| <b>Nervous</b>      | Edgy, excitable, fidgety, restless                         | Composed, steady, tranquil, imperturbable           |
| <b>Nicety</b>       | Accuracy, precision,                                       | Carelessness, indifferent                           |
| <b>Notorious</b>    | Well-known, renowned noted (in something bad) disreputable | Unknown, reputable                                  |
| <b>Obedient</b>     | Dutiful, good, well-behaved                                | Mischiefous, stubborn                               |
| <b>Oblivion</b>     | Forgetfulness, obscurity                                   | Memory, remembrance                                 |
| <b>Oblivious</b>    | Absent-minded, inattentive, abstracted                     | Aware, observant                                    |
| <b>Obnoxious</b>    | Exposed, harmful, hateful, odious, offensive               | Free, cheerful, harmless, humane, lovable, pleasing |
| <b>Obscene</b>      | Filthy, indecent   | Pure, clean   |
| <b>Obscure</b>      | Darken, dim, arcane, cryptic                               | Clear, explicit, plain, transparent                 |
| <b>Obtuse</b>       | Stupid, dull   | Intelligent, bright                                 |
| <b>Obsessed</b>     | Addicted, addictive, hooked, compulsive                    | Instinctive, natural                                |
| <b>Officious</b>    | Meddlesome, mischievous, intrusive,                        | Harmless, non-interfering, incurious                |
| <b>Oppress</b>      | Crush, harass  | relieve, help                                       |
| <b>Optimistic</b>   | Confident, hopeful, sanguine                               | Pessimistic, cynical, defeatist                     |
| <b>Oration</b>      | Speech, address  | Silence   |
| <b>Orifice</b>      | Opening, aperture, hole                                    | Ending  |
| <b>Ostentatious</b> | Boastful, pretentious                                      | Reticent, restrained                                |
| <b>Outrageous</b>   | Atrocious, bold, daring, monstrous, scandalous             | Timid, appropriate, commendable, decorous, polite   |

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|---------------------|--|--|
| <b>Outstanding</b>  | Distinguished, dominant, foremost, paramount     |  |
| <b>Overbearing</b>  | Arrogant, domineering, haughty, imperious        | Mediocre, usual                                |
| <b>Overture</b>     | Offer, invitation                                | Deferential, docile, modest, obsequious        |
| <b>Pacific</b>      | Peaceful, gentle                                 | Withdrawal, finale                             |
| <b>Palatable</b>    | Tasty, appetizing                                | Violent, hostile                               |
| <b>Paramount</b>    | Supreme, predominant, important, essential       | Unpalatable, tasteless, intangible             |
| <b>Paucity</b>      | Scarcity, fewness, deficiency, inadequate        | Subordinate, inferior, irrelevant, unimportant |
| <b>Penitence</b>    | Repentant, remorseful                            | Abundance, multitude, adequate, sufficient     |
| <b>Pensive</b>      | Thoughtful, sorrowful                            | Obstinacy, stubbornness                        |
| <b>Perennial</b>    | Everlasting, perpetual                           | Active, gay, happy                             |
| <b>Perseverance</b> | Persistence, steadiness                          | Temporary                                      |
| <b>Petition</b>     | Request, appeal                                  | Slackness, inconstancy                         |
| <b>Plague</b>       | Immerse, dip                                     | Command, order                                 |
| <b>Preamble</b>     | Introduction, preface                            | Draw out, come out                             |
| <b>Precarious</b>   | Risky, uncertain                                 | Conclusion, ending                             |
| <b>Precedence</b>   | Priority, preference                             | Safe, secure                                   |
| <b>Precipitate</b>  | Hasten, expedite, impetuous, impulsive           | Infidelity                                     |
| <b>Predicate</b>    | Assert, affirm                                   | Delay, retard, cautious, impassive, thoughtful |
| <b>Prefatory</b>    | Introductory, opening                            | Deny, doubt                                    |
| <b>Pregnant</b>     | Full, teeming                                    | Concluding, final                              |
| <b>Prejudiced</b>   | Biased, slanted, subjective                      | Empty, meaningless                             |
| <b>Pretence</b>     | Affectation, show, pretext                       | Unbiased, disinterested                        |
| <b>Prey</b>         | Victim, capture                                  | Sincerity, reality                             |
| <b>Proclamation</b> | Announcement, ordinance                          | Captor, hunter                                 |
| <b>Prodigal</b>     | Extravagant                                      | Silence  |
| <b>Profane</b>      | Unconsecrated, impious                           | Miser, economic                                |
| <b>Profound</b>     | Deep, fathomless, excess                         | Sacred, religious                              |
| <b>Profuse</b>      | Lavish, prodigal                                 | Shallow, abstruse                              |
| <b>Progeny</b>      | Descendant, off-spring                           | Meager, sharing                                |
| <b>Prolific</b>     | Productive, fruitful                             | Ancestors                                      |
| <b>Prohibit</b>     | Ban, debar, enjoin, forbid                       | Unproductive, barren                           |
| <b>Prone</b>        | Inclined, prostrate                              | Endorse, permit, allow                         |
| <b>Propel</b>       | Press, push, shove, thrust, urge                 | Averse, upright                                |
| <b>Proscribe</b>    | Outlaw, denounce                                 | Discourage, pull, stop                         |
| <b>Provident</b>    | Foreseeing, thrifty                              | Pardon, forgive                                |
| <b>Provisional</b>  | Conditional, contingent, tentative, dependent    | Imprudent, extravagant                         |
| <b>Prudent</b>      | Judicious, cautious,                             | Conclusive, definite, permanent                |
| <b>Pungent</b>      | Sharp, stinking                                  | Imprudent                                      |
| <b>Quack</b>        | Charlatan, impostor                              | Mild, harmless                                 |
| <b>Quench</b>       | Extinguish, put out                              | Professional, qualified                        |
| <b>Radiance</b>     | Brilliancy, luster                               | Light, ignite, arouse                          |
| <b>Radical</b>      | Fundamental, organic                             | Dullness, dimness                              |
| <b>Ragged</b>       | Torn, jagged                                     | Superficial, incomplete                        |
| <b>Raid</b>         | Foray, incursion, invasion, sortie               | Even   |
| <b>Random</b>       | Casual, desultory, haphazard                     | Depress, descend, lower                        |
| <b>Rancid</b>       | Tainted, sour                                    | Formal, invariable, orderly, systematic        |
| <b>Rational</b>     | Intelligent, reasonable                          | Untainted, sweet                               |
| <b>Rebuff</b>       | Reprimand, rebuke                                | Irrational, foolish                            |
| <b>Recede</b>       | Retire, withdraw                                 | Encourage, approve                             |
| <b>Redundant</b>    | Exuberant, excessive                             | advance, retreat                               |
| <b>Relinquish</b>   | Abandon, abdicate, cede, renounce, resign, yield | Scanty, deficient                              |
|                     | Possess, maintain                                |  |

|             |   |   |
|-------------|---|---|
| Remission   | Abatement, relaxation                         | Increase, augmentation                  |
| Repudiate   | Renounce, reject                              | Allow, admit                            |
| Repulsive   | Abhorrent, abominable, disgusting, loathsome  | Admirable, alluring, amiable, charming  |
| Resolute    | Determined, firm                              | Irresolute, undecided                   |
| Respite     | Pause, cessation                              | Continuance, perpetuity                 |
| Restoration | Recovery, reinstatement                       | Destruction, with-holding               |
| Restraint   | Check, hindrance                              | Freedom, frankness                      |
| Retrospect  | Review  | Prospect                                |
| Reveal      | Publish, disclose                             | Conceal, hide                           |
| Revive      | Renew, reanimate                              | Depress, deject                         |
| Revolt      | Rebel, mutiny                                 | Loyal, obey, submit                     |
| Ridiculous  | Laughable, absurd                             | Grave, serious                          |
| robust      | Strong, hale, stout, lusty, portly            | Thin, lean, weak, fragile               |
| Ruinous     | Dilapidated, harmful                          | Whole, sound                            |
| Rupture     | Breach, break                                 | Union, attachment                       |
| Rustic      | Rural, simple, rude, clownish                 | Urbane, polished                        |
| Sacred      | Blessed, consecrated                          | Temporal, worldly                       |
| Saddle      | Load, burden                                  | Unload, disburden                       |
| Sane        | Sound, healthy, sensible, reasonable          | Unsound, confused, unreasonable, insane |
| Saucy       | Impertinent, rude                             | Polite, reserved                        |
| Savory      | Tasty, palatable, spicy                       | Unsavory, tasteless                     |
| Sarcastic   | Biting, caustic, cutting, sardonic            | Complimentary, flattering, favourable   |
| Scandal     | Shame, infamy, slander                        | Credit, praise                          |
| Scanty      | Insufficient, meager                          | Abundant, plentiful                     |
| Scatter     | Sprinkle, disperse, diffuse, disseminate      | Retain, hold, gather, unite             |
| Seclusion   | Separation, withdrawal                        | Publicity, union                        |
| Secular     | Temporal, civil, lay, profane, worldly        | Religious, eternal, pious               |
| Sedate      | Calm, composed, sober, serious, solemn, staid | Perturbed, agitated, light-hearted      |
| Seductive   | Alluring, enticing, attractive, luring,       | Repelling, chill, dissuade              |
| Sensual     | Carnal, fleshly                               | Ascetic, spiritual                      |
| Servile     | Slavish, menial                               | Masterly, lordly                        |
| Shackle     | Fetter, hamper                                | Loose, release                          |
| Shuffle     | Mix, confuse                                  | Clear, be frank                         |
| Slender     | Slim, fragile, weak, thin                     | Fat, bulky, stout, strong               |
| Sloth       | Torpor, inactivity, laziness                  | Activity, vigour                        |
| Smite       | Strike, beat, hit                             | Spare, repair                           |
| Sober       | Moderate, calm                                | Immoderate, excited                     |
| Solace      | Console, comfort, peace                       | Vex, pain, irritation                   |
| Solemn      | Formal, ceremonial                            | Informal, profane                       |
| Solicitude  | Care, concern, worry                          | Baffle, confuse, puzzle                 |
| Solicitous  | anxious, apprehensive                         | Careless, unconcerned                   |
| Solitary    | Lone, single, secluded                        | Companionable, sociable                 |
| Sovereign   | Royal, regal, authority                       | Subject, ineffectual                    |
| Speculation | Thought, theory                               | Action, fact                            |
| Speculator  | Barracker, observer                           | Performer, participant                  |
| Splendid    | Gorgeous, sumptuous                           | Shabby, cheap                           |
| Spontaneous | Voluntary, without preparation                | Involuntary, with prior preparation     |
| Spurious    | Illegitimate, forged, counterfeit, shoddy     | Genuine, authentic, accurate, sincere   |
| Squander    | Dissipate, waste                              | Save, economize                         |
| Stake       | Risk, hazard                                  | Shirk, avoid                            |
| Staunch     | Firm, resolute                                | Infirm, unsteady                        |
| Steadfast   | Fixed, established                            | Unfixed, infirm                         |

|             |   |   |
|-------------|---|---|
| Steep       | Abrupt, precipitous                                 | Flat, gentle, level, low                        |
| Sterile     | Arid, barren, childless, unfruitful, unproductive   | Bearing, fruitful, viable, yielding, productive |
| Stimulate   | Arouse, stir  | Calm, tranquil                                  |
| Stout       | Strong, robust, portly                              | Thin, lean, weak                                |
| Stray       | Wander, err, deviate                                | Stay, continue                                  |
| Strip       | Denude, uncover, bare                               | Cover, clothe                                   |
| Stubborn    | Obstinate, unyielding, adamant, inflexible          | Adaptable, docile, yielding, tractable          |
| Sublime     | High, exalted                                       | Low, depressed                                  |
| Subdue      | Check, constrain, curb, repress, restrain, suppress | Incite, stimulate                               |
| Subsistence | Living, existence                                   | Starvation                                      |
| Subtle      | Nice, delicate, rare, thin, crafty                  | Rough, coarse, unrefined, simple                |
| Sumptuous   | Costly, expensive                                   | Cheap, simple                                   |
| Superlative | Highest, greatest                                   | Lowest, smallest                                |
| Surmise     | Suspect, suppose                                    | Know, be sure, exact                            |
| Susceptible | Sensitive, impressionable                           | Insusceptible, hard                             |
| Suspicious  | Doubtful, questionable                              | Certain, trustful, clear                        |
| Swell       | Dilate, expand, bulge                               | Diminish, lessen, deflate, actual               |
| Symbolical  | Typical, representative                             | Actual  |
| Synonymous  | Equivalent, similar                                 | Dissimilar, contrary                            |
| Tacit       | Implied, implicit                                   | Explicit, expressed                             |
| Taciturn    | Close, reticent, uncommunicative, secretive         | Unreserved, talkative, chatty                   |
| Tangible    | Tactile, substantial                                | Immaterial, unreal                              |
| Tedious     | Wearisome, irksome                                  | Delightful, agreeable                           |
| Tenacity    | Adhesiveness, obstinacy                             | Looseness, inertia                              |
| Terrestrial | Earthy, worldly                                     | Heavenly, celestial                             |
| Testimony   | Witness, deposition                                 | Concealment, denial                             |
| Theatrical  | Dramatic, showy, histrionic                         | Natural, real, prosaic                          |
| Terse       | Compendious, laconic, concise, brief                | Lengthy, talkative, tedious                     |
| Thrifty     | Provident, economical                               | Prodigal, uneconomic                            |
| Thwart      | Oppose, frustrate, balk, foil, inhibit              | Help, advance, permit, allow                    |
| Topsy       | Intoxicated, drunk, nervous, shaken, agitated       | Sober, calm, composed, cool                     |
| Torment     | Pain, torture                                       | Comfort, easy, tranquil                         |
| Tortuous    | Twisted, winding, crooked                           | Straight, honest, simple                        |
| Tranquil    | Calm, quiet, composed, peaceful                     | Disturbed, agitated                             |
| Treachery   | Disloyalty, perfidy                                 | Loyalty, faith                                  |
| Trench      | Infringe, trespass                                  | Respect, observe                                |
| Trifle      | Toy, play, wanton                                   | Serious   |
| Trivial     | Paltry, petty                                       | Significant, important                          |
| Triumph     | Victory, achievement                                | Lament, fail                                    |
| Turbulent   | Blustering, riotous, stormy, violent                | Tranquil, peaceful                              |
| Turmoil     | Bustle, confusion, hurry                            | Quiet, peacefulness                             |
| Tyrant      | Despot, autocrat                                    | Constitutional, sovereign                       |
| Unethical   | Amoral, immoral, unprincipled, unscrupulous         | Moral, principled, scrupulous                   |
| Unanimous   | Accordant, harmonious                               | Discordant, disagreeing                         |
| Unique      | Solve, single, unmatched                            | Common, frequent                                |
| Uphold      | Back, champion, defend                              | Betray, destroy, drop                           |
| Urbanity    | Civility, politeness                                | Rudeness, harshness                             |
| Vagrant     | Wandering, roaming                                  | Settled, homely                                 |
| Vague       | Uncertain, indefinite                               | Certain, definite, sure                         |
| Validity    | Efficiency, authority                               | Inefficiency, weakness                          |
| Vanish      | Disappear, pass away                                | Appear, live, survive                           |

|                   |  |  |
|-------------------|--|--|
| <b>Vell</b>       | Screen, hide, conceal                              | Disclose, uncover                                    |
| <b>Velocity</b>   | Swiftness, rapidity                                | Slowness, tardiness                                  |
| <b>Venerable</b>  | Reverend, grave                                    | Trifling, light                                      |
| <b>Verbose</b>    | Wordy, diffuse, long-winded, repetitious           | Terse, silent, speechless                            |
| <b>Veracity</b>   | Truth, reality, correctness                        | Fiction, unreality                                   |
| <b>Vexatious</b>  | Annoying, harassing, irritating, knotty            | Soothing, pleasing                                   |
| <b>Vicious</b>    | Faulty, defective, corrupt, depraved               | Perfect, incorrupt, simple                           |
| <b>Viable</b>     | Fertile, fruitful                                  | Aborted, sterile, untenable                          |
| <b>Vibrate</b>    | Fluctuate, oscillate                               | Stationary, motionless                               |
| <b>Vivid</b>      | Lively, clear                                      | Dull, unimpressive                                   |
| <b>Vogue</b>      | Fashion, usage, trend                              | Unpopular, outdated                                  |
| <b>Voluntary</b>  | Spontaneous, free                                  | Involuntary  |
| <b>Voracious</b>  | Greedy, ravenous                                   | Satisfiable, satisfied                               |
| <b>Vulnerable</b> | Weak, exposed, untenable, defenseless              | Fortified, strong, invulnerable, guarded, invincible |
| <b>Wander</b>     | Meander, ramble, range, roam, rove, stray          | Remain, rest, settle, steady                         |
| <b>Wariness</b>   | Caution, circumspection, vigilance, watchfulness   | Incaution, careless                                  |
| <b>Warrant</b>    | Guarantee, certify, authorize                      | Forbid, disallow                                     |
| <b>Wearisome</b>  | Fatiguing, irksome, tiring, tedious                | Refreshing, restful                                  |
| <b>Whimsical</b>  | Freakish, fanciful, eccentric, capricious          | Serious, staid                                       |
| <b>Wistful</b>    | Pensive, thoughtful, dreamy, moody, nostalgic      | Cheerful, happy, heedless, airy, flippant            |
| <b>Yearn</b>      | Hanker, long, pine                                 | Be satisfied, be contended                           |
| <b>Yield</b>      | Forgo, give in, surrender, relinquish, concede     | Resist, withhold, refuse                             |
| <b>Yoke</b>       | Link, bondage, slavery                             | Freedom, liberty                                     |
| <b>Zeal</b>       | Passion, eagerness                                 | Apathy, weakness                                     |
| <b>Zenith</b>     | Top, apex, climax, pinnacle, summit                | Base, bottom, foot, low                              |
| <b>Zest</b>       | Brio, dash, drive, energy, gusto, pleasure, spirit | Dullness   |

## ANALOGY (MCQs)

1. **ragtime** : United States :: **raga** : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) cloth (b) country  
(c) piano (d) India
2. **smear** : libel :: **heed** : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) represent (b) doubt  
(c) consider (d) need
3. **seemly** : \_\_\_\_\_ :: **torrid** : **scorching**  
(a) burnt (b) invisible  
(c) attractive (d) horrid
4. **tureen** : \_\_\_\_\_ :: **goblet** : **wine**  
(a) napkin (b) soup  
(c) spoon (d) pilsner
5. **4 : 6 :: \_\_\_\_\_ : 16**  
(a) 2 (b) 14  
(c) 8 (d) 10
6. **son** : nuclear :: \_\_\_\_\_ : extended  
(a) father (b) mother  
(c) cousin (d) daughters
7. **colf** : hair :: \_\_\_\_\_ : musical  
(a) shower (b) close  
(c) praise (d) score
8. **feta** : Greek :: provolone : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) salad (b) Swiss  
(c) blue (d) Italian
9. **moccasin** : snake :: \_\_\_\_\_ : shoe  
(a) alligator (b) waders  
(c) asp (d) loafer
10. \_\_\_\_\_ : zenith :: fear : composure  
(a) apex (b) heaven  
(c) heights (d) nadir
11. **pill** : bore :: core : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) centre (b) mug  
(c) bar (d) placebo
12. **pilfer** : steal :: \_\_\_\_\_ : equip  
(a) return (b) damage  
(c) exercise (d) furnish
13. **native** : aboriginal :: **naïve** : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) learned (b) arid  
(c) unsophisticated (d) tribe
14. **junket** : \_\_\_\_\_ :: junk : trash  
(a) trounce (b) trip  
(c) refuse (d) trinket
15. \_\_\_\_\_ : festive :: funeral : sombre  
(a) tension (b) soiree  
(c) eulogy (d) sari
16.  **fetish** : fixation :: slight : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) flirt (b) sloth  
(c) insult (d) confuse
17. **hovel** : dirty :: hub : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) unseen (b) prideful  
(c) busy (d) shovel
18. **bog** : \_\_\_\_\_ :: slumber : sleep  
(a) dream (b) foray  
(c) marsh (d) night
19. \_\_\_\_\_ : segue :: throng : mass  
(a) subway (b) church  
(c) transition (d) line
20. \_\_\_\_\_ : trail :: grain : grail  
(a) train (b) path  
(c) wheat (d) holy
21. **miserly** : cheap :: homogeneous : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) extravagant (b) unkind  
(c) alike (d) friendly
22. **skew** : gloomy :: slant : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) glee (b) foible  
(c) desperate (d) gloaming
23. **elder** : \_\_\_\_\_ :: cedar : tree  
(a) snow (b) plant  
(c) duck (d) pine
24. **gerrymander** : divide :: filibuster : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) bend (b) punish  
(c) delay (d) rush
25. **vapid** : \_\_\_\_\_ :: rapid : swift  
(a) inspired (b) turgid  
(c) wet (d) insipid
26. **denim** : cotton :: \_\_\_\_\_ : flax  
(a) sheep (b) uniform  
(c) sweater (d) linen

27. obscene : coarse :: obtuse : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) subject (b) obstinate (c) obscure (d) stupid

28. diamond : baseball :: court : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) poker (b) jury (c) grass (d) squash

29. quixotic : pragmatic :: murky : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) rapid (b) cloudy (c) clear (d) friendly

30. Particular : fussy :: \_\_\_\_\_ : subservient  
 (a) week (b) above (c) cranky (d) uptight

31. nymph : \_\_\_\_\_ :: seraphim : angel  
 (a) maiden (b) sinner (c) candle (d) priest

32. poetry : rhyme :: philosophy : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) imagery (b) music (c) bi-law (d) theory

33. jibe : praise :: \_\_\_\_\_ : enlighten  
 (a) job (b) delude (c) worship (d) wed

34. marshal : prisoner :: principal : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) teacher (b) president (c) doctrine (d) student

35. fecund : infertile :: \_\_\_\_\_ : fleet  
 (a) rapid (b) slow (c) fertilizer (d) makeshift

36. mend : sewing :: edit : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) darn (b) repair (c) manuscript (d) manuscript

37. abet : \_\_\_\_\_ :: alone :: lone  
 (a) bet (b) loan (c) wager (d) single

38. 80 : 40 :: 2 : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) 8 (b) 4 (c) 1 (d) 20

39. piercing : \_\_\_\_\_ :: hushed : whisper  
 (a) diamond (b) watch (c) siren (d) ears

40. segregate : unify :: repair : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) approach (b) push (c) damage (d) outwit

41. congeal : solidify :: \_\_\_\_\_ : char  
 (a) conceal (b) singe (c) evaporate (d) charge

42. \_\_\_\_\_ : marsupial :: monkey : primate  
 (a) opossum (b) ape (c) honeybee (d) moose

43. Principle : doctrine :: living : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) will (b) dead (c) likelihood (d) livelihood

44. \_\_\_\_\_ : climb :: recession :: withdrawal  
 (a) ascent (b) absence (c) dollar (d) absorption

45. Myopic : farsighted :: \_\_\_\_\_ : obscure  
 (a) benevolent (b) famous (c) turgid (d) wasted

46. Shallot : \_\_\_\_\_ :: scallop : mollusk  
 (a) shark (b) muscle (c) dessert (d) onion

47. Conjugate : pair :: partition : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) divide (b) consecrate (c) parade (d) squelch

48. \_\_\_\_\_ : exempt :: exercise : maneuver  
 (a) exception (b) passage (c) routine (d) cause

49. Alphabetical : \_\_\_\_\_ :: sequential : files  
 (a) sort (b) part (c) list (d) order

50. Tacit : implied :: \_\_\_\_\_ : inferior  
 (a) shoddy (b) taciturn (c) forthright (d) superior

51. Implement : rule :: \_\_\_\_\_ : verdict  
 (a) propose (b) render (c) divide (d) teach

52. Vaunt : boast :: skewer : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) flaunt (b) criticize (c) prepare (d) avoid

53. gambol : \_\_\_\_\_ :: gamble : bet  
 (a) skip (b) win (c) bat (d) worship

54. Rotation : earth :: \_\_\_\_\_ : top  
 (a) planet (b) spinning (c) sun (d) expanding

55. Gall : vex :: hex : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) fix (b) jinx (c) index (d) vex

56. monarch : \_\_\_\_\_ :: king : cobra  
 (a) queen (b) butterfly (c) royal (d) venom

57. iota : jot :: \_\_\_\_\_ : type  
 (a) one (b) ilk (c) tab (d) jot

58. \_\_\_\_\_ : subject :: veer : path  
 (a) object (b) prove (c) math (d) jet

59. pan : \_\_\_\_\_ :: ban : judge  
 (a) band (b) critic (c) author (d) digest

60. \_\_\_\_\_ : oyster :: paddy : rice  
 (a) aphrodisiac (b) mollusc (c) bed (d) lawyer

61. cicada : \_\_\_\_\_ :: collie : canine  
 (a) fruit (b) mineral (c) cat (d) sandwich

62. huckster : \_\_\_\_\_ :: gangster : crime  
 (a) corn (b) trucking (c) policeman (d) insect

63. \_\_\_\_\_ : bedrock :: cement : foundation  
 (a) mica (b) water (c) lava (d) advertising

64. dolorous : \_\_\_\_\_ :: sonorous : loud  
 (a) woozy (b) weepy (c) dull (d) sand

65. lapidary : \_\_\_\_\_ :: dramaturge : plays  
 (a) cows (b) gems (c) rabbits (d) sleepy

66. penurious : \_\_\_\_\_ :: deep : significant  
 (a) generous (b) stingy (c) rabbits (d) movies

67. somnolent : nap :: truculent : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) sleepwalker (b) journey (c) desecrit (d) cavernous

68. nictitate : \_\_\_\_\_ :: expectorate : spit  
 (a) wink (b) stomp (c) war (d) mood

69. cytology : \_\_\_\_\_ :: geology : rocks  
 (a) cyclones (b) psychology (c) pharmacology (d) smoke

70. proboscis : \_\_\_\_\_ :: abdomen : gut  
 (a) prognosis (b) nose (c) ear (d) cells

71. rein : horse :: control panel : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) pilot (b) bit (c) plane (d) names

72. Argentina : Brazil :: \_\_\_\_\_ : Iran  
 (a) Canada (b) Iraq (c) Ireland (d) Mexico

73. \_\_\_\_\_ : play :: sing : anthem  
 (a) act (b) scene (c) theatre (d) field

74. mouse : \_\_\_\_\_ :: flash : camera  
 (a) rat (b) computer (c) cord (d) dessert

75. cushion : sofa :: shelf : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) ledge (b) bookcase (c) storage (d) frame

76. scrub : wash :: sob : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) cry (b) water (c) sad (d) tease

77. moisten : \_\_\_\_\_ :: cool : freeze  
 (a) water (b) soak (c) oven (d) grow

78. persimmon : \_\_\_\_\_ :: cottontail : rabbit  
 (a) cinnamon (b) oven (c) badger (d) berry

79. stars : astronomy :: \_\_\_\_\_ : history  
 (a) battles (b) eclipse (c) horse (d) \_\_\_\_\_

80. \_\_\_\_\_ : unity :: dearth : scarcity  
 (a) belief (b) death (c) cohesion (d) fear

81. Aesop : fable :: Homer : \_\_\_\_\_  
 (a) temple (b) donkey (c) epic (d) Greece

82. turncoat : traitor :: \_\_\_\_\_ : rogue  
 (a) scamp (b) pillow (c) blush (d) tricky

83. hanker : \_\_\_\_\_ :: ponder : think  
(a) junk (b) fool  
84. rook : chess :: \_\_\_\_\_ : badminton  
(a) grass (b) tennis  
85. bowler : \_\_\_\_\_ :: satchel : bag  
(a) hat (b) lane  
86. \_\_\_\_\_ : wood :: file : nail  
(a) hammer (b) cabinet  
87. volume : \_\_\_\_\_ :: stanza : poem  
(a) measure (b) pint  
88. \_\_\_\_\_ : dolphin :: herd : cow  
(a) ocean (b) pod  
89. pharaoh : dynasty :: \_\_\_\_\_ : democracy  
(a) government (b) election  
90. deplete : decrease :: \_\_\_\_\_ : avoid  
(a) danger (b) dislike  
91. chatter : talk :: flutter : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) dance (b) wobble  
92. plead : \_\_\_\_\_ :: submerge : dip  
(a) avoid (b) dismiss  
93. doze : sleep :: tiptoe : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) walk (b) flat  
94. ledger : accounts :: \_\_\_\_\_ : observations  
(a) pundit (b) weather  
95. \_\_\_\_\_ : money :: urn : ashes  
(a) cash (b) wealth  
96. egregious : bad :: \_\_\_\_\_ : small  
(a) minuscule (b) tall  
97. approach : \_\_\_\_\_ :: leave : bolt  
(a) pounce (b) arrive  
98. lawless : order :: captive : \_\_\_\_\_  
(a) trouble (b) punishment  
99. quarry : marble :: \_\_\_\_\_ : honey  
(a) hive (b) bee  
100. \_\_\_\_\_ : horse :: board : train  
(a) stable (b) shoe  
(c) ride (d) mount

## ANSWERS

|     |   |      |   |     |   |     |   |     |   |     |   |     |   |
|-----|---|------|---|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|
| 1.  | d | 2.   | c | 3.  | c | 4.  | b | 5.  | b | 6.  | c | 7.  | d |
| 8.  | d | 9.   | d | 10. | d | 11. | a | 12. | d | 13. | c | 14. | b |
| 15. | b | 16.  | c | 17. | c | 18. | c | 19. | c | 20. | a | 21. | c |
| 22. | c | 23.  | c | 24. | c | 25. | d | 26. | d | 27. | d | 28. | d |
| 29. | c | 30.  | a | 31. | a | 32. | d | 33. | b | 34. | d | 35. | b |
| 36. | c | 37.  | a | 38. | c | 39. | c | 40. | c | 41. | b | 42. | a |
| 43. | d | 44.  | a | 45. | b | 46. | d | 47. | a | 48. | b | 49. | c |
| 50. | a | 51.  | b | 52. | b | 53. | a | 54. | b | 55. | b | 56. | b |
| 57. | b | 58.  | d | 59. | b | 60. | c | 61. | d | 62. | d | 63. | a |
| 64. | b | 65.  | b | 66. | b | 67. | c | 68. | a | 69. | d | 70. | b |
| 71. | c | 72.  | b | 73. | a | 74. | b | 75. | b | 76. | a | 77. | b |
| 78. | d | 79.  | a | 80. | c | 81. | c | 82. | a | 83. | c | 84. | c |
| 85. | a | 86.  | d | 87. | c | 88. | b | 89. | c | 90. | d | 91. | d |
| 92. | c | 93.  | a | 94. | d | 95. | c | 96. | a | 97. | a | 98. | d |
| 99. | a | 100. | d |     |   |     |   |     |   |     |   |     |   |

## CORRECT &amp; INCORRECT SENTENCES

## SET-I

| Incorrect  | Correct   |
|--|---|
| He has gone abroad for higher study.                           | He has gone abroad for higher studies.                                |
| He has got this job on merits.                                 | He has got this job on merit.   |
| The Police was late in coming.                                 | The police were late in coming.                                       |
| A ten-men delegation met the chairman.                         | A ten-man delegation met the chairman.                                |
| He met all my fooding expenses.                                | He met all my food expenses.  |
| The sister of my friend came to see me.                        | My friend's sister came to see me.                                    |
| The hall's walls need to be painted.                           | The walls of the hall need to be painted.                             |
| Please sanction me one day leave.                              | Please sanction me one day's leave.                                   |
| The weather at the hill resort was fine.                       | The climate at the hill resort was fine.                              |
| Both did not take part in the discussion.                      | Neither took part in the discussions.                                 |
| Let Fozia and I go home.                                       | Let Fozia and me go home.   |
| You played better than me.                                     | You played better than I.   |
| None of them were here.  | None of them was here.  |
| Our's is a small company.                                      | Ours is a small company.  |
| Faiza keeps herself away from late night parties.              | Faiza keeps away from late night parties.                             |
| I and she are friends.   | She and I are friends.  |
| The man who comes here first he will get the job.              | The man who comes here first will get the job.                        |
| Whoever tops the class she will be selected.                   | Whoever tops the class will be selected.                              |
| The chairman examined the candidate if he was fit for the job. | The chairman examined the candidate to see if he was fit for the job. |
| Any of these two girls will be sent for training.              | Either of these girls will be sent for training.                      |
| Everyone is sad when they see little children exploited.       | Everyone is sad when he sees little children exploited.               |
| None of us have seen him for quite some time now.              | None of us has seen him for quite some time now.                      |
| If I were him, I would have resigned.                          | If I were he, I would have resigned.                                  |
| Will you accept either of these five proposals?                | Will you accept any of these five proposals.                          |
| Everyone collected one's pay on the first.                     | Everyone collected his pay on the first.                              |
| Every one of us should be faithful to their organisation.      | Every one of us should be faithful to his organisation.               |
| Such person who are diligent, achieve success in life.         | Such persons as are diligent achieve success in life.                 |
| This is the same man whom you met yesterday.                   | This is the same man who you met yesterday.                           |
| Have you any objection to I joining you on this trip?          | Have you any objection to me joining you on this trip?                |
| Your's sincerely,  | Yours sincerely.  |
| He demanded a sifting inquiry.                                 | He demanded a thorough inquiry.                                       |
| I found the dog laming.  | I found the dog lame.   |
| Riaz is most generous and kinder than her sister.              | Riaz is more generous and kinder than her sister.                     |
| Each participant cannot hope to win a gold medal.              | Every participant cannot hope to win a gold medal.                    |
| Ali is wiser than cunning.                                     | Ali is more wise than cunning.  |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| He has not written <u>much stories</u> .                 | He has not written <u>many stories</u> .                 |
| Sacea is the <u>most cleverest girl</u> in this city.    | Sacea is the <u>cleverest girl</u> in our class.         |
| Milk is <u>more useful than any food</u> .               | Milk is <u>more useful than any other food</u> .         |
| Many an artist <u>were</u> present at the gathering.     | Many an artist <u>was</u> present at the gathering.      |
| Whole the city <u>was</u> present at his funeral.        | The whole city <u>was</u> present at the funeral.        |
| The all participants <u>were</u> given certificates.     | All the participants <u>were</u> given certificates.     |
| He has been helping the <u>blinds</u> .                  | He has been helping the <u>blind</u> .                   |
| He has not taken <u>some books</u> from the library.     | He has not taken <u>any book</u> from the library.       |
| Rehana had <u>leave of ten days</u> .                    | Rehana had <u>ten days leave</u> .                       |
| I'm <u>hopeless about our success</u> .                  | I have <u>no hope of our success</u> .                   |
| I have not seen a <u>so intelligent dog</u> .            | I have not seen <u>so intelligent a dog</u> .            |
| I was surprised to see the <u>plain countryside</u> .    | I was surprised to see the <u>flat countryside</u> .     |
| We live in <u>hill area</u> .                            | We live in <u>a hill area</u> .                          |
| Sadia can run <u>as fast, if not faster than you</u> .   | Sadia can run <u>as fast as you, if not faster</u> .     |
| Sheikhupura is <u>further from Lahore than Shahdra</u> . | Sheikhupura is <u>farther from Lahore than Shahdra</u> . |

## SET-II

| Incorrect  | Correct   |
|--|---|
| He is a <u>good neighbour</u> .                                      | He is a <u>good neighbour</u> .                                 |
| There is <u>no place</u> in this compartment.                        | There is <u>no room</u> in this compartment.                    |
| My sister is <u>taking part in the drama</u> .                       | My sister is <u>taking part in the play</u> .                   |
| We had a <u>good play</u> of cricket.                                | We had a <u>good game</u> of cricket.                           |
| There were <u>jokers</u> at the circus.                              | There were <u>clowns</u> at the circus.                         |
| We have been asked to memorise the <u>poetry</u> .                   | We have been asked to memorise the <u>poem</u> .                |
| She came to his <u>boarding</u> .                                    | She came to his <u>boarding house</u> .                         |
| He asked me for a piece of <u>blotting</u> .                         | He asked me for a piece of <u>blotting paper</u> .              |
| He was writing it out in his <u>copy</u> .                           | He was writing it out in his <u>notebook</u> .                  |
| They had only two <u>waiting members</u> in their team.              | They had only two <u>reserves</u> in their team.                |
| I saw two <u>females</u> at the party.                               | I saw two <u>ladies/women</u> at the party.                     |
| She has got into <u>bad companionship</u> .                          | She has got into <u>bad company</u> .                           |
| He spent a <u>large number</u> of money at the fair.                 | He spent a <u>large amount</u> of money at the fair.            |
| The man wore <u>new dress</u> .                                      | The man wore <u>new clothes</u> .                               |
| He forgot to put down his <u>sign</u> on the application.            | He forgot to put down his <u>signature</u> on the application.  |
| She is my <u>cousin sister</u> .                                     | She is my <u>cousin</u> .                                       |
| She took <u>insult</u> at my remark.                                 | She took <u>offence</u> at my remark.                           |
| We are all <u>fellow brothers</u> .                                  | We are all <u>brothers</u> .                                    |
| Karachi is one of the most polluted <u>city</u> in the world.        | Karachi is one of the most polluted <u>cities</u> in the world. |
| The road is closed for <u>repair</u> .                               | The road is closed for <u>repairs</u> .                         |
| One of my <u>student</u> has won the gold medal for public speaking. | One of my <u>students</u> has won the gold for public speaking. |
| Don't look at the <u>back side</u> of my house.                      | Don't look at the <u>back</u> of my house.                      |
| She happened to hurt a <u>foot finger</u> .                          | She happened to hurt a <u>toe</u> .                             |
| He has a <u>ten-rupees</u> note.                                     | He has a <u>ten-rupee</u> note.                                 |
| There are two ladies <u>in our staff</u> .                           | There are two ladies <u>on our staff</u> .                      |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| He has a <u>Ph. D.</u> in English.  | He is a <u>Ph. D.</u> in English.  |
| I think the <u>chair's legs</u> are broken.                               | I think the <u>legs of the chair</u> are broken.                           |
| Good <u>night</u> , I'm happy you could come.                             | Good <u>evening</u> , I'm happy you could come.                            |
| Cloth is sold by the <u>yards</u> .                                       | Cloth is sold by the <u>yard</u> .   |
| He sees that <u>alms</u> is given to every beggar that comes to his door. | He sees that <u>alms</u> are given to every beggar that comes to his door. |
| I'm leaving by the <u>8.00</u> train.                                     | I'm leaving by the <u>8 o'clock</u> train.                                 |
| I expect you to be true to your <u>words</u> .                            | I expect you to be true to your <u>word</u> .                              |
| I have <u>works</u> to do in the city.                                    | I have <u>much work</u> to do in the city.                                 |
| He has <u>no issues</u> other than a daughter.                            | He has <u>no issue</u> other than a daughter.                              |
| I found him sleeping in his <u>quarter</u> .                              | I found him sleeping in his <u>quarters</u> .                              |
| It is <u>bad manner</u> to eavesdrop.                                     | It is <u>bad manners</u> to eavesdrop.                                     |
| You will be surprised at your own <u>emolument</u> .                      | You will be surprised at your own <u>emoluments</u> .                      |
| Take a <u>compass</u> and draw a circle.                                  | Take the <u>compasses</u> and draw a circle.                               |
| I must change my <u>cloths</u> immediately.                               | I must change my <u>clothes</u> immediately.                               |
| You have always been finding <u>faults</u> with my work.                  | You have always been finding <u>fault</u> with my work.                    |
| You need not worry yourself about the <u>finance</u> of the company.      | You need not worry yourself about the <u>finances</u> of the company.      |
| He has gone abroad for <u>higher study</u> .                              | He has gone abroad for <u>higher studies</u> .                             |
| He has got this job on <u>merits</u> .                                    | He has got this job on <u>merit</u> .                                      |
| The course <u>materials</u> you sent were very useful.                    | The course <u>material</u> you sent was very useful.                       |
| My <u>circumstance</u> does not permit me to leave home at this stage.    | My <u>circumstances</u> do not permit me to leave home at this stage.      |
| The police <u>was</u> late in coming.                                     | The police <u>were</u> late in coming.                                     |
| A <u>ten-men</u> delegation met the chairman.                             | A <u>ten-man</u> delegation met the chairman.                              |
| Where are you going to spend your summer <u>vacations</u> this year?      | Where are you going to spend your summer <u>vacation</u> this year?        |
| The earthquake has caused <u>many damages</u> .                           | The earthquake has caused <u>much damage</u> .                             |
| He met all my <u>fooding</u> expenses.                                    | He met all my <u>food</u> expenses.  |

## SET-III

| Incorrect  | Correct  |
|--|--|
| The rice is a summer crop.                                 | Rice is a summer crop.                                       |
| I met <u>strange man</u> in the park.                      | I met a <u>strange man</u> in the park.                      |
| The beggars are waiting at the gate.                       | Beggars are waiting at the gate.                             |
| Elephants of Africa have large ears.                       | The elephants of Africa have large ears.                     |
| Faraz is <u>sincere boy</u> .                              | Faraz is a <u>sincere boy</u> .                              |
| The people of our city have elected him <u>the mayor</u> . | The people of our city have elected him <u>mayor</u> .       |
| My parents want me to join the <u>government service</u> . | My parents want me to join <u>government service</u> .       |
| The man is <u>social animal</u> .                          | Man is a <u>social animal</u> .                              |
| The children like to play.                                 | Children like to play.                                       |
| In Karachi we stayed at <u>hotel</u> .                     | In Karachi we stayed at a <u>hotel</u> .                     |
| This is <u>famous movement</u> .                           | This is a <u>famous movement</u> .                           |
| Water of most oceans is polluted.                          | The water of most oceans is polluted.                        |
| Pakistan of today is progressive.                          | The Pakistan of today is progressive.                        |
| The beggar wants nothing less than <u>one-rupee coin</u> . | The beggar wants nothing less than a <u>one-rupee coin</u> . |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <u>You may give him hundred rupees just now.</u>                        | <u>You may give him a hundred rupees just now.</u>                           |
| <u>Wisdom of our ancient sages is to be admired.</u>                    | <u>The wisdom of our ancient sages is to be admired.</u>                     |
| <u>President of our country is on a trip abroad.</u>                    | <u>The President of our country is on a trip abroad.</u>                     |
| <u>Apple is my favourite fruit.</u>                                     | <u>The apple is my favourite fruit.</u>                                      |
| <u>Karachi is most populous city in Pakistan.</u>                       | <u>Karachi is the most populous city in Pakistan.</u>                        |
| <u>Ali is cleverer of the two brothers.</u>                             | <u>Ali is the cleverer of the two brothers.</u>                              |
| <u>Ramayana is popular all over the world.</u>                          | <u>The Ramayana is popular all over the world.</u>                           |
| <u>The chairman examined the candidate if he was fit for the job.</u>   | <u>The chairman examined the candidate to see if he was fit for the job.</u> |
| <u>Have you a pen?</u>  | <u>Have you a pen?</u>   |
| <u>I have not got.</u>  | <u>I have not got one.</u>   |
| <u>Is he at home?</u>   | <u>Is he at home?</u>  |
| <u>Yes, I think.</u>  | <u>Yes, I think so.</u>  |
| <u>Who did this?</u>  | <u>Who did this?</u>   |
| <u>Myself.</u>  | <u>I (myself).</u>   |
| <u>Any of these two girls will be sent for training.</u>                | <u>Either of these girls will be sent for training.</u>                      |
| <u>Everyone is sad when they see little children exploited.</u>         | <u>Everyone is sad when he sees little children exploited.</u>               |
| <u>None of us have seen him for quite some time now.</u>                | <u>None of us has seen him for quite some time now.</u>                      |
| <u>The size of the bracelet should be the same as this bracelet.</u>    | <u>The size of the bracelet should be the same as that of this bracelet.</u> |
| <u>My car is more expensive than my friend's.</u>                       | <u>My car is more expensive than that of my friend.</u>                      |
| <u>You and she are expected to attend the seminar.</u>                  | <u>You, she and I are expected to attend the seminar.</u>                    |
| <u>You and I have done my work.</u>                                     | <u>You and I have done our work.</u>   |
| <u>You and he tried his best to convince her of her responsibility.</u> | <u>You and he tried your best to convince her of her responsibility.</u>     |
| <u>Let you and I handle this job together.</u>                          | <u>Let you and me handle this job together.</u>                              |
| <u>If I were him, I would have resigned.</u>                            | <u>If I were he, I would have resigned.</u>                                  |
| <u>Will you accept either of these five proposals?</u>                  | <u>Will you accept any of these five proposals.</u>                          |
| <u>All the officers should respect each other.</u>                      | <u>All the officers should respect one another.</u>                          |
| <u>One should respect his parents at all times.</u>                     | <u>One should respect one's parents at all times.</u>                        |
| <u>Everyone collected one's pay on the first.</u>                       | <u>Everyone collected his pay on the first.</u>                              |
| <u>Every one of us should be faithful to their organisation.</u>        | <u>Every one of us should be faithful to his organisation.</u>               |
| <u>Such person who are diligent, achieve success in life.</u>           | <u>Such persons as are diligent achieve success in life.</u>                 |
| <u>This is the same man whom you met yesterday.</u>                     | <u>This is the same man who you met yesterday.</u>                           |
| <u>You should avail of this opportunity to go abroad.</u>               | <u>You should avail yourself of the opportunity to go abroad.</u>            |
| <u>Who is there?</u>  | <u>Who is there?</u>   |
| <u>It is me.</u>  | <u>It is I.</u>  |
| <u>The teacher has helped Tahira and I.</u>                             | <u>The teacher has helped Tahira and me.</u>                                 |
| <u>Anila sings better than me.</u>                                      | <u>Anila sings better than I (do).</u>                                       |
| <u>You are as good a player as him.</u>                                 | <u>You are as good a player as he.</u>                                       |
| <u>Have you any objection to I joining you on this trip?</u>            | <u>Have you any objection to me joining you on this trip?</u>                |
| <u>Yours sincerely.</u>   | <u>Yours sincerely.</u>  |
| <u>He is not such a fool that would resign.</u>                         | <u>He is not such a fool as would resign.</u>                                |

## PRÉCIS WRITING

### The Art of Précis Writing

#### Basic Idea of Précis

- Précis is a French word which means accurately expressed
- It is a gist of longer passage
- It is a condensed exercise
- It expresses the main theme
- Unimportant details to be excluded

#### Basic Requirement of Précis

- It should be in the form of continuous narrative
- It should not contain disjointed sentences
- Hierarchy of ideas is sacrosanct
- It must contain all the important ideas of the original passage
- It should exclude unimportant detail
- It should be an organic whole

#### Stencil for Précis

- passage for précis should be dealt in a whole
- Sentences from the passage should not be borrowed
- Précis should be continuous
- Sentences should not be disjointed
- Ornament of expression to be omitted
- Thought of the writer to be essential

#### Usage of Stencil

- Avoid personal comments
- Avoid emphasizing irrelevant ideas
- Avoid borrowing phrases and sentences
- Avoid introductory remarks
- Avoid exceeding the prescribed limit of words
- Avoid examples, stories, anecdotes
- Avoid similes
- Avoid metaphors
- Avoid illustrations
- Avoid side remarks
- Avoid spelling mistakes
- Avoid grammatical mistakes
- Avoid punctuation mistakes
- Avoid idiom mistakes

#### Method of Writing a Précis

- Read the passage to get a grasp of the main idea
  - Two or three readings to get clear understanding
  - Break the passage into ideas or points
- Write important points
  - All points to be written
  - Mention major points
  - Mention minor points
    - Write in your words every single idea
    - Use simple words

- Write a rough draft by mentioning all major points in a collective piece
  - Initially follow the order in which ideas (major points) appear in the passage
    - Rearrangement of ideas if required
  - Write another rough draft if required
- If passage contains one paragraph
  - There is to be only one précis (one continuous write-up)
- If passage contains more than one paragraph
  - There is to be only one précis (one continuous write-up)
- Précis to be written in Indirect Speech
  - Direct speech to be converted into Indirect Speech
- Précis to be in Third person
  - First person to be changed into Third person
- Précis to be written in Past tense
  - If reporting verb in Past tense, then précis to be in Past tense
  - If passage expresses universal truth, then précis to be in Present tense

#### How to Find Title

- Identify key sentence in the beginning of passage
- Identify key sentence in the end of passage
  - Look for coherence between start and end of passage
  - Look for information in first sentence and any conclusion in the last sentence
  - Look for certain facts mentioned in the beginning and verified in the last sentence
- Correct organization of major points
- Collate major points in a whole
  - Summarize the whole in a single sentence
  - If required, further shorten the sentence
  - A title is always more than one word

#### Refinement of Rough Draft

- All major points to be included in rough draft to be in sync with
- Rough draft can be reorganized
- Sentences to be aligned or realigned
- Continuous thought to be expressed
- Correction of mistakes
- Final touch
  - Write Title
  - Jot down Précis

#### Resource Bank for Précis writing

- Reading
  - Renowned writers
  - Dawn
  - Fiction
- Brainstorming
  - Recourse to constructive thought
- Review of Basic Grammar Rules
  - Tense/Verb usage
  - Correct usage
- Vocabulary
  - High frequency words
  - Learning usage
  - Synonyms
  - Prepositions, idioms

## SOLVED PRÉCIS

### PASSAGE 1

As material civilisation advances and the supply of available goods and services increases; man's needs correspondingly multiply. Advertising plays a key role in this never-ending process by stimulating the public's desire for certain products, and thereby promoting the sales thereof, until it has, in effect, created new needs, real or supposed, where there were none before. A familiar example is the motorcar - once a rare and costly novelty, now a ubiquitous and relatively inexpensive necessity. More recently, a computer has undergone the same transformation. While some people would deny that computer is a necessity, the fact that systems are found in a majority of Western homes shows that it answers, to a greater or lesser degree, the need felt by millions of people for entertainment and information.

A product, service, or commodity that the public needs, and knows it needs, tends of course, to "sell itself". We might therefore assume that, in such cases advertising would be of minor importance. To some extent this is true. Meat-packers, vegetable and fruit growers, and dairy operators spend less on advertising, for instance, than manufacturers of cigarettes, liquors, cosmetics, and other items of this type. On the other hand, the competition that exists between rival brands means that the suppliers of such basic necessities as food, clothing, and housing must advertise their wares to stay in business. Significantly, the industry that spends most on advertising turns out a product which almost everyone considers, a necessity; soap. (243 words)

#### Solution

With the advancement of material civilisation the human needs have taken the upward track. Advertisement plays a prominent role in it. It changes the very shape of items from luxuries to necessities. Luxury items need more advertisement for the boosting up of sales. Far less advertisement is needed for the sale of essential commodities, but it has been noticed, that business houses dealing in necessities have also to advertise to stay in the business, because of keen competition. (78 words)

#### Title

#### Advertisement and Material Civilisation

### PASSAGE 2

In Pakistan, no section of the community seems to miss an opportunity to go on strike. Almost everyday we read in the newspapers of some one or the other going on strike, quite often for the flimsiest reason one can imagine.

Strike is a legitimate weapon of the worker to get better pay, shorter hours of work and better working conditions when all the other methods have failed. But to resort to strike because some action has been taken on an erring colleague or because some headstrong subordinate was not treated with respect, is meaningless. Unfortunately in Pakistan the tendency to go on strike seems to be fairly widespread not only among workers but also among others. The taxi-drivers go on strike if the police ask them to fix meters. Students go on strike because they feel the question is too stiff for them to answer. Slum-dwellers go on strike because they have been asked to move into new tenements built for them.

Strikers are the last to realise that they are the ultimate losers in most cases. Their gains are only apparent. Increased wages may not benefit them unless they are related to increased productivity. When an employer is forced to increase his worker's wages, without a corresponding increase in production, as is most often the case, his cost of production goes up and this in turn increases the price of his product. So, though the worker may get more, he will have to spend more to get his minimum requirements and this is what is happening today. (259 words)

#### Solution

Hardly a day passes when we do not find some or the other wings (section) of society observing strike. Unfortunately the strikes are indulged in for most trivial causes. Strike is certainly a legal weapon in the hands of workers to be used when all other channels have failed. But it is being used most indiscriminately. The

workers do not realize that even if they get their salary packages increased, ultimately they only will have to bear the brunt as their necessities will cost more. (85 words)

#### Title

#### Strikes in Our Country

#### PASSAGE 3

To tread the path of philosophy is to seek after truth and follow a way of life. Before a man sets out on the quest after truth, he must fulfil certain conditions. First, there must be discrimination between the real and the unreal. The statement means, not that a man must possess complete knowledge of absolute reality, which is attained only after long practice of meditation, but that he must unfailingly subject the nature of things to a rigid analysis by discriminating between what is transitory and what is abiding or between what is true and what is false. The second condition is detachment from the selfish enjoyments of life. The aspirant must learn that the highest good is realised not through a continuous search for the infinite, the enduring joy. This ideal of illumination must be realised by a gradual purification of the seeker's heart and mind. A third condition is that the student must acquire tranquillity of mind, self control, patience, poise, burning faith in things of the spirit and self surrender. These are called the six treasures of life. The thirst for release is the fourth condition. Deliverance from spiritual darkness, entrance upon the path of illumination comes only through annihilation of the false ego. When the ego dies, all troubles cease. Such a condition of being does not imply the loss of one's individuality but rather the attainment of a great individuality. (236 words)

#### Solution

The path of philosophy implies a constant search of truth. A real understanding of truth demands certain qualities. The seeker must be capable of distinguishing between real and unreal, temporary and lasting things. He must realise that higher truth and salvation cannot be achieved through worldly comforts but through their renunciation. This ideal needs a constant search of the lasting joys. He must do away with his false ego. With ego's death many troubles automatically fade away. (77 words)

#### Title

#### Search of Truth

#### PASSAGE 4

Man is forever changing the face of nature. He has been doing so since he first appeared on the earth. Yet, all that man has done is not always to the ultimate advantage of the earth or himself. Man has, in fact, destroyed more than necessary.

In his struggle to live and extract the most out of life, man has destroyed many species of wildlife, directly by sheer physical destruction, and indirectly by the destruction or alteration of habitats. Some species may be able to withstand disruptions to their habitat while others may not be able to cope.

Take the simple act of farming. When a farmer tills a rough ground, he makes it unsuitable for the survival of certain species. Every change in land brings about a change in the types of plants and animals found on that land.

When man builds a new town, this means the total destruction of vast areas of farmland or woodland. Here, you have the complete destruction of entire habitats and it is inevitable.

It follows therefore, that every form of human activity unavoidably upsets or changes the wildlife complex of the area. Man has destroyed many forms of wildlife for no reasonable purpose. They have also made many great blunders in land use, habitat destruction and the extermination of many forms of wildlife.

Man's attitude towards animals depends on the degree to which his own survival is affected. He sets aside protection for animals that he hunts for sport and wages a war on any other creature that may pose a danger or inconvenience to him. This creates many problems and man has made irreversible, serious errors in his destruction of predators. He has destroyed animals and birds which are useful to farmers as pest controllers. The tragedy that emerges is that all the killing of predators did not in any way increase the number of game birds.

Broadly speaking, man wages war against the creatures which he considers harmful, even when his warfare makes little or no difference to the numbers of those he eliminates. There is a delicate balance and prey equilibrium involving also the vegetation of any area, which man can upset by thoughtless intervention. Therefore, there is a need for the implementation of checks and balances. The continued existence of these animals depends entirely on man and his attitude towards his own future. (195 words)

#### Solution

Human beings have been changing the face of the earth since the beginning of life. They have done a great harm to wildlife. With the destruction of the habitat of wildlife in the name of development, many species of wildlife have been lost forever. Certain species are still in existence, environmental changes while others simply vanish. Every form of human activity affects the landscape and future of wildlife. Preservation efforts have been made only for the animals that are deemed useful for human beings but the two are mismatched. The number of the protected animals has increased. Development and preservation has created an imbalance in nature. There is a dire need to keep a balance between development and preservation because man's future depends very much on the balance.

(234 words)

**Title**  
**Development and wildlife**

#### PASSAGE 5

If by some magic you could be granted the quick wits, perhaps you might well be popular. Being popular means being liked by a lot of people instead of just a few close friends and that is a big wok. All the same you, too, can be well liked if you are willing to be in guard against the perils of popularity.

Let us consider some of these. You cannot be polite and friendly a some and not to others without the world getting around as to what kind of person you really are. When you are considering other people take time, to be friendly with the folks older than you are - your neighbour, teachers, parents and other relatives. If you treat them with respect, they are going to think of you as a nice person, not as a good for nothing boy. And do not forget to be kind to the little kids too. Again you must think of others and consider their wishes. A majority wins, you know, and if you are out-voted in the discussion of what to do and where to do, remember that being a good sport is another way to help your popularity. A good lover does not complain when the plans do not go his way. At the same time do not be afraid that you are making your popularity to stand up for what you think is right. It takes courage to say so, and is appreciated. (246 words)

#### Solution

Popularity is almost universally cherished. But it is not easy to maintain popularity even after gaining it. It needs a lot of tact and careful handling. Respecting others, loving younger, caring for all, are a few things, which can help a person. Supportive behaviour can also help a person go a long way. Standing up boldly for right things needs guts and courage which is positively applauded. Consideration of others' views and opinions can be another asset. (77 words)

**Title**  
**How to become Popular**

#### PASSAGE 6

It is strange how expressions of antagonism may stem from very small and, when one thinks seriously about it, insignificant differences between groups of people. Some of these differences of behaviour lead to nicknames which people use to call others not of their race or country. Thus Americans in the 19th century, largely of British descent, took to calling the British "limeys" because British sailors were given daily doses of lime juice to prevent scurvy. Because Americans did not indulge in the same healthy procedure, they considered the practice absurd, and this gave rise to a convenient word with which to label the British. Similarly, because the British did not care for pickled cabbage, while the Germans did, "kraut" became an

appellation for a German during the Second World War. Now that Americans, British and Germans are on friendly terms, they may laugh at the silly names they called each other in the past. (153 words)

#### Solution

Minor differences between groups sometimes give rise to the nicknames by which one group calls another. For example, Americans in the last century called the British "limeys" because of the lime juice British sailors, but not Americans, drank to prevent scurvy, and the British during the Second World War called the Germans "krauts" after the pickled cabbage the latter, but not the former, ate. All groups now tend to laugh at these names. (73 words)

#### Title

How Antagonism Stems?

### PASSAGE 7

For long after independence, the Civil Service attracted the country's best brains, but bureaucracy became a dirty word – it was held responsible for all that went wrong in the areas where the Government's role mattered. Was it the sinner or was it sinned against? Perhaps both. Bureaucrats did not function in a vacuum or in lofty isolation. They were part of the new milieu, where the state machinery was concerned not only with law and order and revenue collection, as was the case in the colonial days, but also with vastly expanded activity ranging from social welfare to economic development and from conducting external relations to deal with Centre – State relations, apart from looking after the general administration. The democratic polity that we gave unto ourselves accorded a dominant position in the government to the large tribe of elected representatives. This was a new situation, challenging and exciting. It called for a readjustment of roles, and rise to the occasion. But let this generalisation not convey impression that the administrative services were totally devoid of uprightness. (192 words)

#### Solution

The Civil Service once attracted the most talented people. But, since independence, owing to the increase in its responsibilities, and need to work under the people's representatives, the bureaucracy, as part of democratic governance, has not always been successful. Except in certain instances, when it showed efficiency and uprightness, the bureaucracy has not apparently delivered what is expected of it. (60 words)

#### Title

Bureaucracy

### PASSAGE 8

A great many men and women — let us frankly admit it — in spite of all our humanitarian and democratic prejudices, do not want to be cultured, are not interested in the higher life. For these people existence on the lower animal level is perfectly satisfactory. Given food, drink, the company of their fellows, and plenty of noisy distractions from without, they are happy. They enjoy bodily, but hate mental exercise. They cannot bear to be alone, or to think. Contemporary urban life, with its jazz bands, its Negroid dancing, its movies, theatres, football matches, newspapers, and the like is for them ideal. They can live out their lives without once being solitary, without once making a serious mental effort (for the work which most of these people do is mainly mechanical and requires little or no thought), without once being out of sight or sound or some ready-made distraction. The notion that one can derive pleasure from arduous intellectual occupations is to such people merely absurd. More leisure and more prosperity means for them more dancing, more parties, more movies, more distractions in general. Most of the inhabitants of ancient Rome belonged to this type; so probably do most of the inhabitants of modern New York and London. And unless some system of eugenics is AD will be radically different. (242 words)

#### Solution

A majority of people nowadays lead a merely animal existence. They believe in eating, drinking, social parties, dancing, movies, the theatre, sports matches and similar diversions. They have a strong desire for mental exertion and their life is devoid of any intellectual interests. They have absolutely no notion of a higher, cultured living and they resemble the ancient Romans in this. Unless some eugenic measures are taken, the future generations are not likely to be very different from the people of today. (82 words)

#### Title

Pleasure — Seeking in Modern Times

### PASSAGE 9

But first, what is civilisation? All men have certain physical needs, needs for warmth, food and shelter. These needs man shares with the animals. Savages spend most, if not all, of their time in the endeavour to satisfy them. A civilisation, then, cannot be a condition of affairs in which human beings merely satisfy ever more easily and elaborately their fundamental physical needs and do nothing else. It must be a condition in which they satisfy their needs so easily and feel themselves so secure from danger that they have the time and energy to attend to other things and in particular, to the development and demands of the mind and the spirit. Those who seek to meet the demands of the mind and the spirit do some things not because the doing of them will be to their advantage in a biological sense, not, that is to say, because it will help them to survive, or because it will advance them in material or social sense by making them richer or more powerful or more famous, but simply for the pleasure or interest that they take in doing them or because they think it is right to do them. (200 words)

#### Solution

Civilisation means much more than merely the satisfaction of man's physical needs for warmth, food and shelter. Civilisation enables human beings not only to satisfy his physical needs but also to satisfy the demands of the mind and of the spirit. A civilised man pursues intellectual and spiritual activities not for any physical, material or social gain but because he considers them right and finds pleasure in them. (67 words)

#### Title

What is Civilisation?

### PASSAGE 10

By far the greatest factor accelerating the growth of population in underdeveloped parts of the world has been the decline in the death rate. With increasing industrialism and accompanying urbanisation, birth rates remain high in many regions, notably in South East Asia, Latin America and Africa. In Europe and North America, birth and death rates are relatively low and the rate of population increase in Europe is in the range of 0.8 per cent a year. In Asia, the natural increase is 2.3 per cent and in Latin America it has risen to 2.8 per cent a year. The full development of resources and education to produce attitudes favourable to smaller families, notably the introduction of birth control, would seem the only solution to the world population explosion. The fall in the death rate is chiefly due to a widespread campaign against disease, notably malaria, through medical and economic intervention by the United Nations and its specialised agencies. (152 words)

#### Solution

The repaid growth in world population is due to a decline in the death rate and a continuing high birth rate in South-East Asia, Latin America and Africa. The annual rate of population increase in these regions is roughly 2.5 per cent as against 0.8 per cent in Europe. Population must be controlled. (51 words)

#### Title

The Problem of Growing Population

## PASSAGE 11

The man in the street now takes for granted the ideas of science and the fruits of technology, without asking from what seeds they spring, how they work, or what may be their social repercussions. Rising standards of living spreading through the world generate a demand for and more and more applications of science. Throughout the world rich and poor alike insist that science, technology and industry should prosper as a guarantee against poverty and as the signpost to happiness. Rarely, if ever, has mankind turned its back on any new discovery or invention that has been produced through the technological exploitation of scientific knowledge. We accept electric light and power without knowing how they came about or how they work. We use the telephone and play the tape-recorder without knowing the scientific principles by which either operates. Radio and television we take for granted. We wear clothes of synthetic textile, and take aspirin, anti-biotic and tranquillisers as and when we want without knowing either the chemistry of these substances or worrying about possible side-effects. We do so in the assurance that the technological world of today is a firm and sound one, and one which promises to be richer tomorrow. Only rarely does our confidence break down or threaten to break down. (213 words)

**Solution**

The common man unthinkingly accepts the ideas and uses of scientific discovery. He does not even try to understand the principles underlying it. Both the rich and the poor feel certain that the progress of technology and industry will bring them prosperity and happiness. Electric light and power, the telephone, the tape-recorder, radio, television, medical drugs have all been welcomed by mankind because they are believed to represent progress and riches. (70 words)

**Title**

**Mankind and Scientific Technology**

## PASSAGE 12

The most sensible people to be met within society are men of business and of the world who argue from what they see and know, instead of spinning cobweb distinctions of what things ought to be. Women have often more of what is called good sense than men. They have fewer pretensions, are less implicated in theories, and judge of objects more from their immediate and involuntary impression on the mind, and, therefore, more truly and naturally. They cannot reason wrong, for they do not reason at all. They do not think or speak by rule; and they have in general, more eloquence and wit, as well as sense, on that account. By their wit, sense, and eloquence together, they generally contrive to govern their husbands. Their style, when they write to their friends (not for the booksellers), is better than that of most authors. Uneducated people have most exuberance of invention and the greatest freedom from prejudice. Shakespeare's was evidently an uneducated mind, both in the freshness of the imagination and in the variety of his view as Milton's was scholastic in the texture both of his thoughts and feelings. Shakespeare had not been accustomed to write themes at school in favour of virtue or against vice. To this we owe the unaffected but healthy tone of his dramatic morality. If we wish to know the force of human genius, we should read Shakespear. If we wish to see the insignificance of human learning, we may study his commentators. (250 words)

**Solution**

It is better to be practical in life than to indulge in philosophic abstractions. Women have generally more good sense, wit, and eloquence than men precisely because they are practical-minded. They can, therefore, govern their husbands. Uneducated people possess fertile inventiveness and unbiased minds. Shakespeare, being uneducated, wrote plays that are powerful and that reflect his healthy notions of morality. Scholarly critics, on the other hand, write commentaries on him, which are futile. (83 words)

**Title**

**The Value of Good Sense in Life and Literature**

# READING COMPREHENSION

## GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

**Reading the Passage**

1. In many ways, comprehension is a more demanding exercise than the précis writing, and it requires a closer and more watchful scrutiny of the passage. In précis writing we may miss out some details in the passage but not in the case of comprehension.
2. Read the whole passage, at least twice, to understand what the writer is trying to say before going after the details.
3. Do not read the questions first; this can influence your understanding. However, if you are not able to make sense of the passage in first two attempts, reading questions can be helpful in unfolding the meanings.
4. The passage has to be scanned minutely as you have to answer questions about it.
5. It is neither possible nor necessary to understand each and every word of the passage; use your common sense to make a sense of the given text.
6. Focus both on what is stated and what is implied by the author.
7. The practice of underlining the difficult words can be counterproductive; the passage can be understood despite these words.
8. Reference words like 'but', 'however', 'moreover' are important and must be taken seriously while reading. They are always used by the authors for making an important shift in the argument.
9. Do not bother too much about the rhetorical expressions and stylistic devices used by the author; in most cases these have only a decorative value and are not central to the meaning of the passage.
10. There are always easier sentences in the text that can open up the meanings for you. Never ignore these sentences; they help the reader a lot in understanding of the passage.

**Writing Answers**

1. Do not be impatient to pen down your answers in a hurry, even if the questions look pretty easy.
2. Before jotting down your answer get back to the part of the text that is relevant to the question for reconfirmation.
3. Do not try to substitute each and every word of the passage, especially the key words. It is always safer to use words from the text than supplying inappropriate words.
4. There is no need to write needlessly long answers. Never give extra information for increasing the length of the answer. Overstating will spoil a good answer.
5. Never add views from outside the text, or put your words in author's mouth. Guard against interference of your prior knowledge in the answers.
6. Do not try to impress the examiner with ornamental or figurative language. Accuracy of the answer is more important than the style.
7. If you are asked to provide meanings or synonyms of the underlined words, attempt only those items about which you are sure. It is better miss an item than provide a wrong answer, it will damage your impression.
8. Even if the question is about a particular sentence, go through one sentence before and after that particular sentence. This will give further clarity to your answer.
9. Read the questions very carefully. Like the passage, questions can also be misread.
10. Never let your personal bias come into play while answering the questions. Do not agree or disagree with the author, unless asked to do so.
11. Avoid taking extreme sides when your opinion is asked about the writer's views. If an answer sounds extreme in tone, it is not the best choice. Be wary of using words like 'never, always, completely', 'absolutely', 'by no means' etc.
12. Do not make assumptions. Inferring and assuming are two different things. Inference is based on logic, while assumptions are instinctive. Your assumption may seem valid, but you should stay away from it.
13. Questions are usually about specific information or about the conclusions drawn from the stated facts. These are to be treated differently.
14. Avoid changing the order of the questions while writing answers; shuffling of questions can confuse the examiner.

**Steps**

1. Give the passage first reading to get a general feel about the subject.
2. Read the passage again, slowly this time.
3. Study all the questions carefully.
4. Take up questions one by one and turn to the relevant portions of the text for answers.
5. Write down a rough draft of your answers.
6. Improve the rough draft and pen down your final answer.

**SOLVED EXERCISES****EXERCISE 1**

Accumulated property treads the powers of thought in the dust, extinguishes the sparks of genius, and reduces the great mass of mankind to be immersed in sordid cares, beside depriving the rich, of the most salubrious and effectual motives to activity. If superfluity were banished, the necessity for the greater part of the manual industry of mankind would be superseded; and the rest, being amicably shared among all the active and vigorous members of the community, would be burdensome to none. Every man would have a frugal, yet wholesome diet; every man would go forth to that moderate exercise of his corporal functions that would give hilarity to the spirits; none would be made torpid with fatigue, but all would have leisure to cultivate the kindly and philanthropic affections of the soul, and to let loose his faculties in the search of intellectual improvement. What a contrast does this scene present us with the present state of human society, where the peasant and the labourer work till their understandings are benumbed with toil, their sinews contracted and made callous by being forever on the stretch, and their bodies invaded with infirmities and surrendered to an untimely grave? What is the fruit of this disproportioned and unceasing toil? At evening they return to a family, famished with hunger, exposed half naked to the inclemency of the sky, hardly sheltered, and denied the slenderest instruction, unless in a few instances, where it is dispensed by the hands of ostentatious charity, and the first lesson communicated is unprincipled servility. All this while their rich neighbour.....

(Blank has been left by the writer)

How rapid and sublime would be the advances of intellect, if all men were admitted into the field of knowledge! At present ninety-nine persons in a hundred are no more excited to any regular exertions of general and curious thought, than the brutes themselves. What would be the state of public mind in a nation, where all were wise, all had laid aside the shackles of prejudice and implicit faith, all adopted with fearless confidence the suggestions of truth, and the lethargy of the soul was dismissed forever? It is to be presumed that the inequality of mind would in a certain degree be permanent; but it is reasonable to believe that the geniuses of such an age would far surpass the grandest exertions of intellect that are at present known. Genius would not be depressed with false wants and niggardly patronage.

**Questions**

1. What according to the writer is the cause of the poor man's short life?
2. Does the writer favour charity for the poor? Support your answer with the writer's argument.
3. How does the writer compare the present-day man with brutes?
4. What are the effects of accumulated wealth on the rich?
5. What according to the writer would promote intellectual improvement?

**Answers**

1. The long and tiresome physical work by the labourers takes a heavy toll on their health and weakens their bodies and exhausts them mentally. Impoverished by hunger and exposed to the severity of weather they suffer from different diseases and ultimately die before time.
2. The writer does not favour the concept of charity as it is not a permanent solution to the problems of the poor. Moreover, it makes the receivers dependent, submissive and injures their self-respect. According to the writer the poor need justice, not charity.

3. The writer compares the modern man with brutes because like brutes the modern man does not use his brain. It is the power of thinking that distinguishes human beings from animals.
4. The accumulated wealth stifles all intellectual activity, discourages genius and curbs profound thinking.
5. Moreover, it deprives the rich of positive and effective motives to any action.
6. When resources will be equally distributed among people, more and more people will have time to engage themselves in the pursuit of knowledge. Resultantly, the general intellectual level of society will rise. The society, free from chains of superficial conflicts and useless prejudices, will be more conducive to the production of genius.

**EXERCISE 2**

As a matter of fact the rank and file of doctors (the common doctors) is no more scientific than their tailors: or if you prefer to put it the reverse way, their tailors are no less scientific than they. Doctoring is an art, not a science: any layman (common person who is not an expert) who is interested in science sufficiently to take in (understand and remember) one of the scientific journals and follow the literature of the scientific movement, knows more about it than those doctors (probably a large majority) who are not interested in research, and practice only to earn bread. Doctoring is not even the art of keeping people in health. No doctor seems able to advise you what to eat better than his grandmother or the nearest quake or exceptionally that a practising doctor makes a contribution to science (my play The Doctor's Dilemma describes a very notable one): but it happens much often that he draws disastrous (very bad and harmful) conclusions from his clinical experience because he has no conception of scientific method, and believes, Men of Science?) by G. B. Shaw.

**Questions**

1. How doctors are not true experts?
2. How does the writer equate (place on the same footing) a common doctor with a grandmother or a quake?
3. Why does or why can't a doctor draw useful conclusions from his clinical experience?
4. What in your opinion is a common doctor?
5. Suggest a suitable title for the passage.
6. Write a précis of the passage in about one-third of its length in your own language as far as possible.

**Answers**

1. Doctors are not research experts or men of science; they are neither interested nor trained in scientific research. They are simply practitioners, and their main aim is to earn livelihood through their profession.
2. G. B. Shaw believes that a doctor's job is only to cure illness, not to keep people in good health. He says grandmothers and quakes are doing a better job in this regard by giving useful advice about the maintenance of good health.
3. An ordinary doctor either cannot draw conclusions or will draw inappropriate and harmful conclusions on the basis of his day to day clinical experience because he has no idea about the research methodology. He is as unfit to draw conclusions on the basis of available evidence and statistics as a naive villager is.
4. An ordinary doctor is the one who runs a clinic and has no time to study research journals, and is out of touch with the latest research methods. He practices medicine only to earn money.
5. A doctor can't be a research scholar
6. According to G. B. Shaw, doctors are not the medical experts because they are neither interested nor trained in scientific research. They practise medicine only to earn their livelihood. The scientific conclusions drawn by an ordinary doctor will not only be wrong but damaging. Moreover, a doctor's job is only to cure illness, not to keep people in good health; grandmothers and quakes can do this job in a better way.

### EXERCISE 3

The capitalistic system of society does not foster healthy relations among human beings. A few people own all the means of production and others nominally free have to sell their labour under conditions imposed upon them. The emphasis of capitalism being on the supreme importance of material wealth, the intensity of its appeal is to the acquisitive intensity. It promotes worship of economic power with little regard to the means employed for its acquisition and the end it serves. By its exploitation of human beings to the limits of endurance, its concentration is on the largest profit rather than maximum production. Thus, the division of harrowed poor turn to religion for succour, they rather offer a subtle defence of the established order. They promise future happiness for their present sufferings and conjure up visions of paradise to redress the balance. They to sooth the sufferings and the revolt of the tortured men. The system imposes injustice, the religion justifies it.

#### Questions

1. Why is capitalism injurious to human relations?
2. How does capitalism hold out false promise to suffering persons?
3. What is the role of religion in perpetuating the evils of capitalism?
4. How do the economic circumstances divide society?
5. Give meanings of the underlined expressions in your own words.

#### Answers

1. Capitalism is harmful to human relations because of its profit-oriented policies and the social conditions it creates. It gives highest importance to material possessions, and promotes insatiable lust for economic power. Human beings are forced to work under subhuman conditions, and human relations are subordinated to economic preferences. All this is against human dignity.
2. Capitalism makes false promises of prosperity and progress to people but its real target is to exploit them and make maximum profit. It creates an illusion that working class is free whereas in reality they are no better than slaves who serve the money-making machines of the capitalists as tools. Their hard work only earns more profit for the rich employers.
3. The people suffering at the hands of capitalism turn to religious leaders for consolation and solace who, instead of encouraging them to fight for their rights, pacify them with the narrative that they would be rewarded in the next world for their hardships in this world. Indirectly, they persuade the poor not to show any resistance against the exploiters. This is how religion justifies the injustice imposed by the system.
4. Under capitalism human beings are divided on economic basis. A few people own all the means of production and the rest serve them as workers. It divides society into haves and have-nots. Social status is determined by the economic position, and society is divided into classes on economic basis.
5. (i) Acquisitive intensity: Intense desire for material things  
(ii) Limits of endurance: Capacity to bear sufferings  
(iii) Harrowed poor: Distressed poor  
(iv) Succour: Help, relief

### EXERCISE 4

The answer is emphatically: No. For real beauty is as much an affair of the inner as of the outer self. The beauty of a porcelain jar is a matter of shape, of colour, of surface texture. The jar may be empty or tenanted by spiders, full of honey or stinking slime – it makes no difference to its beauty or ugliness. But a woman is live, and her beauty is, therefore, not skin deep. The surface of the human vessel is affected by the nature of its spiritual contents. I have seen women who, be the standards of a connoisseur (an expert in art) of porcelain, were ravishingly lovely. Their shape, their colour, their surface texture were perfect. And yet they were not beautiful. For the lovely vase was either empty or filled with some corruption. Spiritual emptiness or ugliness shows through. And conversely, there is interior light that can transfigure forms that the pure aestheticians would regard as imperfect or downright ugly. (The Beauty Industry) by Aldous Huxley

### Questions

1. What does the writer say about the proclaimed jar?
2. Explain what the writer says about the beauty of a woman.
3. How would you explain "spiritual emptiness".
4. What is your idea of beauty in a human being?
5. Suggest a suitable title for the passage.
6. Write a précis of the passage.

#### Answer

1. The writer says that the beauty of a porcelain jar lies only in its external appearance; what is inside the jar is of no consequence to its beauty. Whether it is empty or filled with rubbish, does not affect its beauty.
2. According to the writer, the beauty of a woman is different from that of a jar as it is not just external beauty. What is inside a woman is reflected in her external appearance. A woman may have lovely look and yet be ugly, if her soul is empty or is filled with corruption.
3. By spiritual emptiness the writer means the lack of inner qualities of head and heart. The inner corruption (flaws in character) in a woman affects her external beauty.
4. To me, human beauty is not a matter of external appearance and it is incomplete without the spiritual beauty or the beauty of soul.
5. (i) The real beauty  
(ii) Real beauty of a woman
6. Huxley says that there is difference between the beauty of a woman and that of a porcelain jar. The beauty of the jar is merely external; what is inside it is of no consequence. However, the inner spiritual beauty of a woman is reflected in her external beauty, and without this she will not look beautiful, despite her good looks.

### EXERCISE 5

One of the greatest advances in modern technology has been the invention of computers. They are widely used in Industries and in Universities. Now there is hardly any sphere of human life where computers have not been pressed in to service of man. We are heading fast on the close of this present century towards a situation when a computer will be as much part of man's daily life as a telephone or a calculator.

Computers are capable of doing extremely complicated work in all branches of learning. They can solve the most complex mathematical problems or put thousands of unrelated facts in order. These machines can be put to varied uses. For instance, they can provide information on the best way to prevent traffic, or they can count the number of times the word "and" has been used in the Bible. Because they work accurately and at high speed, they save the research workers hard work. This whole process by which machines can be used to work for us had been called 'automation'. In the future 'automation' may enable human beings for more leisure than they do today. The coming of automation is bound to have important social consequences.

Some years ago an expert on automation, Sir Leon Bagrit, pointed out that it was a mistake to believe that these machines could 'think'. There no possibility that human beings will be "controlled by machines". Though computers are capable of learning from their mistakes and improving on their performance, they need detailed instructions from human beings to operate. They can never, as it were, lead independent lives or "rule the world" by making decision of their own.

Sir Leon said that in future, computers would be developed which would be small enough to carry in the pocket. Ordinary people would then be able to use them to obtain valuable information. Computers could be plugged into a national network and be used like radios. For instance, people going on holiday could be informed about weather conditions. Car drivers can be given alternative routes when there are traffic jams. It will also be possible to make tiny translating machines. This will enable people who do not share a common language to talk to each other without any difficulty or to read foreign publication. It is impossible to assess that importance of a machine of this sort, for many international misunderstandings are caused simple

through our failure to understand each other. Computers will also be used in ordinary public hospital, by providing a machine with a patient's systems: a doctor will be able to diagnosis the nature of illness. Similarly machines could be used to keep a check on a patient's health record and bring it up to date. Doctors will there for have immediate access to a great many facts which will help in their work. Bookkeepers and accountants too could be relieved of dull clerical work, for the tedious task of compiling and checking lists of figures could be done entirely by machines. Computers will also be able to tell the exact the age a man is going to live, with the help of his blood picture. Computers are the most efficient servants man has ever had and there is no limit to the way they can be used to improve our life style and life.

#### Questions

1. What is the greatest advancement in modern technology?
2. What is automation?
3. What was the prediction of Sir Leon about the computers in future?
4. Name the areas where computers can be effectively used?

#### Answers

1. The greatest advancement in modern technology is the invention of computers because they can perform complex and difficult tasks in all fields of knowledge.
2. Computers are capable of doing extremely complicated work in all branches of learning. They can solve the most complex mathematical problems or put thousands of unrelated facts in order. These machines can be put to varied uses. This whole process by which machines can be used to work for us had been called "automation".
3. In the future, such computers would be developed that would be small enough to carry in the pocket.
4. Computer can be used like radio, car drivers can use it for alternative routes, it can be used in ordinary public hospitals, it can be used for clerical work and in many other fields

### EXERCISE 6

There is something humbling to human pride in rustic life. It grates against the heart to think of the tone in which we unconsciously permit ourselves to address him. We see in him humanity in all we respect in our species is what has been created by art; the gaudy dress, the glittering equipage, or even the cultivated intellect. The mere and naked material of nature we eye with indifference, or trample on with disdain. Poor child of toil, from the grey dawn to the setting sun, one long task! No idea elicited, no thought awakened beyond those that suffice to make him the machine of others, the serf of the hard soil. And then too, mark how we frown upon his scanty holidays, how we hedge in his mirth, and turn hilarity into crime! We make the whole of the gay world, wherein we walk and take our pleasure to him a place of snares and perils. If he leaves his labour for an instant, how many temptations spring up to him! and yet we have no mercy for his errors: the jail, the transport-ship, the gallows. These are our sole lecture-books, and our only method of expostulation.

#### Questions

1. Why do we despise a rustic?
2. Is the life of a rustic a bed of roses?
3. How do we punish him for his errors?

#### Answers

1. We despise a rustic because he is too simple, in dress, in manners, and in mind. He is uncultivated, unrefined, and untouched by the usual marks of civilisation. Besides, we look down upon him also because he works with his hands rather than with his mind.
2. The life of a rustic is very busy and very hard. He has no time for relaxation and recreation. Only toil and labour are supposed to be his lot.
3. When a rustic strays from his labours to taste awhile the joy of life, we punish him inhumanly by sending him to jail or exile, or by executing him.

### EXERCISE 7

In another grim example, Herbert Dachs, a 28-year old bricklayer, could not stand life when his mistress left him. After giving her a final telephone call, he drove his car at 150 kms an hour straight into a railway bridge. A suicide note found in the car read, "I am going to meet my death in my car, the only thing I have left."

There are other variations of suicide at the wheel.

"A family man killed himself with his 19-year-old mistress, and explained in a suicide note that he had decided to crash into a tree at the side of an isolated road to avoid causing any other victims."

Why does a suicide victim choose a car to kill himself? A psychologist pointed out that there was a relationship between the would-be suicide victim and his car comparable to the intimacy of lovers in classical cases of suicide.

He said, "The suicide does not only want to kill himself. He goes to his death with his most, valuable possession, and his most loyal, constant and adorned companion. He wants to be isolated from what he considers to be evil surroundings." "The proof of this is that the majority of these suicides victim lock all their car doors on their last drive."

"Women rarely commit suicide in this manner for fear of being disfigured. They prefer poison or gas." He added.

Most of West Germany's 12,000 suicides victims last year either hanged themselves or shot themselves, the psychologist said. But the new kinds of suicides present an insoluble problem from the police and insurance firms as many suicide cases fall into the "killed while speeding" category.

One theory is that some suicides try to hide what they are doing so their families can claim insurance benefits.

"If there are no traces of braking and if the road is dry, the car is in good working condition and the driver is not wearing his seat-belt, then we have a possible suicide case in our hands," an insurance expert said.

"But no judge will accept these clues and even a farewell letter is not enough for him. So in most cases we come to a friendly arrangement with the family."

But according to the West Germany Transport Ministry, five cars every day drive down an auto ban on the wrong side, killing themselves.

#### Questions

1. What is the nature of the new kind of suicide in West Germany?
2. Why do some people choose a car to kill themselves?
3. How does the new kind of suicide create problems for the police and insurance firms?
4. What are the clues that make an insurance expert guess that there is a possible suicide case?

#### Answers

1. The new kind of suicide in West Germany is when one kills himself at the wheel of his car at 200 kms. an hour on a highway. Of a total of 12,000 suicides, 5 percent (or 600) belonged to this new category.
2. As a psychologist has pointed out, some people choose a car to kill themselves because they want to die with their most valuable – in some cases, their only – possession, their loyal, constant and adored companion when they feel isolated from all human company.
3. They create problems for the police because they get "killed while speeding". Their violation of traffic rules brings the police into the picture, while their death involves the insurance firms.
4. The insurance expert believes that it is a possible suicide case if there is no trace of stopping the car by braking, if the car is in a good condition, and if the driver has not fastened his seat-belt for safety. Moreover, his guess would be confirmed if all the car doors are locked by the suicide before he goes to his death.

### EXERCISE 8

A classless society does not mean a society without leaders. It means rather one in which every citizen becomes for the first time eligible for leadership, if he has the power to lead. It means a society in which everyone is given, as far as possible, the chance to develop this power by the widest diffusion of education and opportunities in the broadest sense, and by keeping the career wide open to talents of every useful kind. It is

often said that a community of equals will not allow itself to be led. But, in fact, most men are, in most things, very willing to be led, and in danger of giving their leaders too rather than too little authority, especially if they are free to choose them, and assured and the leaders cannot exploit them for personal economic advantage. Leadership so far from disappearing, will come into its own in a truly democratic society. But it is likely to be a more diffused leadership than we are used to; for a better nurtured people will have more citizens with strong wills and minds of their own wishful to lead, some in politics, some in industry, and some in the professions and the arts of life.

This is the idea of the classless society. Some will reject it as contrary to their interests, some as Utopian and "against human nature", for there are some who deny, indeed if not in word, that the aim of society should be to promote the greatest happiness and welfare of the greatest number, and others who hold, with pessimistic honesty, that most men must be driven and not led.

#### Questions

1. What is a "classless society" according to the writer of the above passage?
2. Does the writer believe that "a community of equals" will refuse to follow a leader?
3. How will different types of people receive the idea of the classless society?

#### Answers

1. A classless society, according to the writer, does not mean a leaderless society or a society that will reject a leader. It means a society in which everyone will find adequate opportunities of developing his qualities of leadership to be used for the benefit of society.
2. No, the writer believes, on the contrary, that most men are quite willing to follow their leaders if only they are assured that they will not become authoritarian selfish. Indeed, when people are free to choose their leaders, and are confident of their social commitment, they are likely to give their leaders too much rather than too little authority to lead them. Indeed, in a classless society, leadership will become truly democratic.
3. Different types of people will reject the idea of a classless society for different reasons. Some will reject it as it will go against their vested interests. Since their position is likely to be affected by it, they will oppose it. Others will think it to be Utopian, unrealistic, impracticable, unrealisable, because such an idea militates "against human nature" which supports inequality and difference.

### EXERCISE 9

Socrates had many disciples, and the greatest of these was Plato. Plato wrote many books which have come down to us, and it is from these books that we know a great deal of his master, Socrates. Evidently governments do not like people who are always trying to find out things; they do not like the search for truth. The Athenian Government – this was just after the time of Pericles – did not like the method of Socrates, and they held a trial and condemned him to death. They told him that if he promised to give up his discussion with people and changed his ways; they would let him off. But he refused to do so, and preferred the cup of poison, which brought death, to giving up what he considered his duty. When on the point of death, he addressed his accusers and judges and said:

"If you propose to acquit me on condition that I abandon my search for truth, I will say: 'I thank you, O Athenians, but I will obey God, who, as I believe, set me this task, rather than you; and as long as I have breath and strength I will never cease from my occupation with philosophy. I will continue the practice of accosting whomever I meet and saving to him. 'Are you not ashamed of setting your heart on wealth and honours while you have no care for wisdom and truth and making your soul better?' I know not what death is – it may be a good thing, and I am not afraid of it. But I do know what it is a bad thing to desert one's post, and I prefer what may be good to what I know to be bad."

#### Questions

1. Why was Socrates condemned to death by his government?
2. On what condition was the government willing to let him go?
3. What was Socrates' reaction to that offer?
4. What did Socrates consider his duty to the people?

#### Answers

1. Socrates was condemned to death by his government which did not approve of Socrates' method of making people search for truth and wisdom by questioning and discussing everything.
2. The government was willing to let Socrates go free if he promised to desist from holding discussions with people to help them find the truth, and if he changed his ways.
3. Socrates rejected that offer, and declared that he would rather obey God, who had placed him in this world to carry on his work as a philosopher, than bow before his accusers.
4. Socrates considered it his duty to teach the people of Athens that the search for truth, wisdom and betterment of the soul was truly valuable while the shameful quest for wealth and power was not.

### EXERCISE 10

The behaviour of young boys is the subject of comments the world over. Particularly distressing is the manifestation of insulting conduct towards school and college-going girls. No condemnation can be very severe for such conduct. What are the causes that have led to this kind of behaviour? Lack of reverence for women is only an offshoot from a larger evil. The real tragedy is the complete lack of self-discipline among young men. This lack of control must be dealt with severely.

We all know that the best way to teach a child anything is by example. But cases of young children who misbehave prove only too clearly that many parents and teachers are not doing their duty properly. Both at home and at school, far too many children are brought up to do only that they like, to do a job badly, to leave it unfinished, to have anything they want at the expense of other people's convenience. Parents say they cannot manage their children and it is getting more difficult to find competent teachers who can manage a class. And then the behaviour of parents and teachers themselves does not always inspire respect. But perhaps the greatest harm is done by the perpetual rousing of the senses by posters, films, magazines, cheap music, advertisements, etc. Society will have to make a much more determined effort to mould the character of children if this moral deterioration is to be halted.

#### Questions

1. What is the most distress aspect of young men's conduct?
2. What is the cause of such behaviour?
3. How are parents and teachers responsible for this?
4. To what extent are films and magazines harmful?

#### Answers

1. The most distressing aspect of young men's conduct is their insulting and disgraceful behaviour towards school-and college-going girls.
2. Lack of self-discipline among young men is the root cause of their unchivalrous and shameful behaviour towards women.
3. Parents and teachers, to a great extent, are responsible for the young people's lack of self-discipline as well as of respect for women. They allow children to have their way; to do things badly or incompletely and to demand things even if others are inconvenienced.
4. Thus children learn to be indifferent to others. Moreover, competent teachers are not easy to find and parent admit their inability to discipline their children at home. Above all, the behaviour of parents and teachers does not always inspire respect, so it is difficult for them either to exercise authority or to be good models to follow.

# GRAMMAR

## WORDS OFTEN CONFUSED

### 1. Ability, Capacity

*Ability means power to receive, accomplish something; capacity means power to receive, hold or contain. Advance increments are given on the basis of one's ability. His capacity for Mathematics is very limited.*

### 2. Accomplish, Attain

*Accomplish is used with a task. Attain with success, glory, etc. He accomplished the task assigned to him within the prescribed period. He attained success in all his enterprises and undertakings.*

### 3. Adapt, Adopt, Adept

*Adapt means to adjust to circumstances or occasions. Adopt means accept. Adept means expert.*

*He adapted his language to the intellectual level of his audience. Mr. and Mrs. Samuel had no child and so they were eager to adopt someone as their heir. He is adept in the art of photography.*

### 4. Addicted, Devoted

*Addicted is used with reference to a voice. Devoted is used with reference to pursuits or objects considered noble.*

*He is addicted to smoking. He is devoted to his wife.*

### 5. Admission, Admittance

*Admission means entering a club, an institution, or place of entertainment and also implies the gaining of privileges enjoyed by the members or persons already admitted. Admittance means entering a building.*

*Admission to the college will be made on the basis of merit. He gained admittance to the University Hall by false personification.*

### 6. Adopt, Assume

*You can assume a pose, a theory, a supposition, a false name or an inference; adopt means to accept and to regard as one's own.*

*He adopted a wrong line of action.*

*You assume that he is not capable of such a mischief.*

### 7. Advent, Arrival

*Advent is used with reference to an important event.*

*Arrival is used with reference to a person, a vehicle or an automobile.*

*People hail the advent of spring by indulging in all sorts of merry-making.*

*The people awaited his arrival very eagerly.*

### 8. Aesthetic, Beautiful

*Aesthetic is used with reference to a person and refers to a quality of mind.*

*Beautiful means full of beauty and has no reference to the mind.*

*He is gifted with an aesthetic sense.*

*He has a beautiful watch.*

### 9. Aggravate, Annoy

*Aggravate is used with reference to disease, illness, pain, grief, or difficulties.*

*Annoy means to offend and is used with reference to a person only.*

*He aggravated his difficulties by withholding every sort of beauty and has no reference to the mind.*

*He has a beautiful watch.*

### 10. Alibi, Excuse

*Alibi means being absent from a place at a certain time on a certain date. Excuse means a justification for some irregularity. The alibi plea was not accepted by the court in his case. He has always one excuse or the other to defend his shortcomings.*

### 11. Allow, Permit

*Allow implies absence of opposition but does not always imply approval, whereas permit implies sanction and approval. I can permit him to enter the premises but I don't allow him to do so. The Government permitted him to affix the Sunday to his holidays.*

### 12. Allege, Assert

*Allege means to assert without sufficient proof; as, The reporter using the words "It is alleged" is absolved of all responsibility. Assert means to maintain one's claim. It is alleged that he murdered his wife in cold blood. He asserted his right to prescribe any book that he liked.*

### 13. Allude, Refer

*To allude is to refer casually or incidentally. To refer means to give definite and full information. The speaker alluded to the interesting customs prevalent among some people in the course of his lecture. I would refer you to Concise Oxford Dictionary.*

### 14. Allure, Lure

*Allure means to tempt a person; whereas lure means to be tempted by some situation or action which proves harmful ultimately. He was allured by the prospect of discovering mines of gold in the untraversed land. She lured him to her side by her charms and made him renounce his wife.*

### 15. Allusion, Illusion

*Allusion implies indirect hint or reference to someone. Illusions means an imaginary appearance. This poem is full of many obscure allusions. The doctor asked the patient if he suffered from illusions.*

### 16. Altercation, Fight

*An altercation is a verbal fight whereas a fight implies the use of physical force. An altercation ensued between the two parties over the question of playing music before a mosque.*

*Some college boys often fight with one another, over trifling matters.*

### 17. Amiable, Amicable

*Amicable is used with reference to an agreement or a adjustment. Amiable means of love-able disposition. He has an amiable disposition.*

*The dispute between the two parties was settled amicably.*

### 18. Ancient, Old

*Ancient should be used when an object is old as the historical period, especially the earliest periods. Old is used for an object which is nearly worn out. We know very little about the history of Ancient India.*

*He threw away his old pair of shoes.*

### 19. Antagonist, Opponent

*Antagonist is correctly used to describe an opponent in duel, fight or a physical combat whereas opponent is used to denote a person on the opposite side whether in sports, politics, debates, business, literary contests or election.*

*In the fight that ensued between John and Smith, John got the upper hand over his antagonist.*

*My opponent got two hundred votes whereas I secured five hundred.*

### 20. Antagonise, Oppose

*Antagonise means to make the other person your enemy by some thoughtless action. Oppose means to go against someone.*

You will antagonise everybody by unnecessarily picking holes in others' coats.  
He opposed the amendment suggested by the previous speaker.

**21. Anticipate, Expect**

*Anticipate means to know beforehand.*  
*Except means to wait for the arrival of some.*

The defence counsel anticipated the arguments of the prosecution side and nullified their force by counter-arguments.  
Don't expect me till Sunday next.

**22. Anxious, Eager**

*Anxious is used to denote a state of suspense. If a person is worried over some incident or is mentally disturbed, the word anxious is appropriately applied to him.*

*Eager means desirous.*  
He was anxious to know his result.  
I am eager to buy this book.

**23. Apology, Excuse**

*Apology should be used when the offence is serious one; excuse is used when the offence is minor one.*  
He was asked to tender a written apology.

What excuse have you got to justify your conduct in the matter?

**24. Apposite, Opposite**

*Apposite is used with reference to statements, words or examples quoted in support of some contention.*  
*Opposite means contrary and absolutely different.*

His illustrations were quite apposite.  
His qualities were the opposite of those of his father.

**25. Arrogate, Arrogant**

*Arrogate means to claim unduly.*

*Arrogant means haughty, discourteous and rude.*

The clerk arrogates to himself the rights and privileges of the officer.  
He answers everyone in arrogant tones.

**26. Art, Artifice**

*Art is used to denote a skill and is always used in good sense; an artifice means a trick or cunning device.*  
It is an art to please an offended customer by flattering remarks.

He employed many an artifice to make him sign this agreements.

**27. Artist, Artisan**

*An artist is one who is gifted with imagination and taste for one of the fine arts.*

*An artisan is a skilled labourer, a mechanic, a craftsman.*

One who can depict in words the character of a person and give the minutest details about him is an artist in the real sense of the term.  
A carpenter belongs to the artisan class.

**28. Borrow, Lend**

*To borrow means to get as a loan and*  
*To lend means to give as a loan.*

I borrowed this precious book from my friend Karim.  
I can lend it to you for a day.

**29. Beneficent, Beneficial**

*Beneficent means kind, and*

*Beneficial means useful, advantageous.*

A beneficent ruler always enjoys the loyalty of his people.  
Education is beneficial to all.

**30. Calendar, Calender**

*Calendar means register of the division of year*  
*Calender means a machine for finishing cloth*

Do you have next year's calendar?

In textile factories, clothes are pressed in a calender.

**31. Charge, Accuse**

*Charge is used with reference to a serious offence and accuse for a milder offence.*

He was charged with the murder of the newspaper boy.  
He accused me of theft.

**Confess, Admit**

*To confess means to acknowledge personality for an offence or crime;*  
*Admit means to own without taking any personality on one's self.*  
He confessed that he had written that article but did not know how it was published.  
I admit that my brother was wrong.

**Contemptuous, Contemptible**

*Contemptible is used with reference to a person or scheme that is base, mean and of low type;*  
*Contemptuous denotes scorn and hatred and is used with reference to actions.*  
She cast a contemptuous glance at Massey whose behaviour in the audience was simply contemptible.  
A sweeper is regarded a contemptible person in Pakistan.

**Descrey, Decry**

*Descrey means to discover something which could not be easily detected;*  
*Decry means to be little.*  
Many educationists have decried the policy of the waste of waters.  
We could descrey a palm tree dimly outlined against the horizon.

**Depreciate, Deprecate**

*Depreciate means to be little as.*  
*Deprecate means to dislike with regret and foretell some situation which is regrettable.*  
We have no intention to depreciate the good work done by you.  
We deprecate the custom of child-marriage prevalent among some backward sections of our society.

**Desert, Dessert**

*Desert means a barren region with no vegetation.*  
*Dessert means any sweet dish served after a meal.*  
No one can cross the Sahara Desert.  
She brings the dessert trolley after the lunch.

**Disperse, Disburse**

*Disperse is a general term and is used with people and a class of students.*  
*Disburse is used with reference to money only;*  
The police dispersed the crowd by using force.

The principal authorized The Head Clerk to disburse money among the staff.

**38. Domineer, Dominate**

*Domineer means to rule over others in an unreasonable and tyrannical way.*  
*Dominate has happier associations than domineer.*  
His domineering ways were dislike by all his colleagues and subordinates.  
The Muslim League dominates the hearts of the masses in Pakistan.

**39. Economic, Economical**

*Economic refers to the science of economic and economical means thrifty and less expensive.*  
He failed in economics and geography.  
His way of living is most economical.

**40. Effectual, Effective**

*Effectual means that which produces a good effect.*  
*Effective is that which produces an effect.*  
The new constitution has proved very effectual.  
Paludrine is very effective for malaria.

**41. Elder, Older**

*Elder is used with reference to a relative only.*  
*Older is comparative degree of old.*  
His elder brother came to fetch him today.  
Though still in his thirties, he looks older.

**42. Ellipse, Ellipsis**

*An ellipse is a geometrical figure somewhat similar to a circle; ellipsis is a grammatical term meaning omission of words needed to complete sense.*  
It is difficult to draw an ellipse without a stencil or a piece of thread.

His whole conversation is full of ellipsis.

**43. Evidence, Testimony**  
*Evidence is the statement of fact; testimony is the confirmation of a statement.*  
 The evidence given by him was recorded by the police.  
 I bear testimony to the fact that he was an employee of the firm in the year 1928.

**44. Emigrant, Immigrant**  
*Emigrant means the former is a 'person who leaves his own country and goes to live in another. Immigrant means a person who comes to one country from another in order to live there. Many emigrants leave India every year for Pakistan.*  
 The immigrants in Canada don't enjoy full rights and privileges of the country these days.

**45. Eruption, Irruption**  
*Eruption is bursting out, irruption is sudden invasion.*  
 Some years back there was an earthquake in Japan attended with volcanic eruption.  
 The eruption of the Huns destroyed the fabric of the Roman Empire.

**46. Facetious, Factious, Fictitious**  
*Facetious means witty; factious means quarrelsome and fictitious means artificial.*  
 He is very popular because he is always facetious and cheerful.  
 He is by disposition factious and is disliked by everybody.  
 He was arrested on a fictitious charge.

**47. Farther, Further**  
*Farther is used with reference to distance or space; further implies something additional in thought.*  
 The nearer the church, the farther from God.  
 I gave further evidence to justify his conduct.

**48. Fatal, Serious**  
*Fatal means resulting in death; serious and fatal are sometimes hopelessly misused.*  
 Cancer proves usually serious.  
 He was involved in a fatal accident but escaped unhurt.

**49. Gamble, Gambol**  
*Gamble means to play for money.*  
*Gambol means to run and jump happily and playfully.*  
 He spends all his time gambling in the casino.  
 The lambs were gambolling in the spring sunshine.

**50. Gratified, Grateful**  
*Gratified means pleased and Grateful means thankful.*  
 He was gratified to recover his lost dog.  
 I am grateful to you for your many acts of kindness to me.

**51. Genteel, Gentle**  
*The former means graceful in form and the latter mild or well-born*  
 The young man had a genteel appearance and he pleased us all.  
 He is a gentle and sober man, and never likes to enter into a quarrel.

**52. Grandiloquent, Eloquent**  
*Grandiloquent is one whose style is pompous or verbose; eloquent is one who is a fluent and powerful speaker.*  
 Our professor is rightly regarded as a grandiloquent speaker since his speech is usually full of sound and fury signifying nothing.  
 Mr. Jinnah was an eloquent speaker.

**53. Henceforth, Hereafter**  
*Henceforth means ever after his time implying continuity and hereafter means in future and also means in the next world.*  
 Henceforth he will act as our leader and spokesman.  
 Hereafter we shall not quarrel with each other.

**54. Human, Humane**  
*Human means pertaining to man; Humane means kind and benevolent.*  
 Human race can be divided into five distinct classes.  
 His attitude towards the criminals was very humane.

**55. Incapable, Unable**  
*Incapable is used with reference to a permanent disability and unable with regard to a particular instance.*  
 He is incapable of holding a position as minister.  
 He is unable to come to college today.

**56. Indicate, Imply**  
*To indicate means to reveal, explain or specify. Imply means involve the truth of, or means.*  
 These words imply that you will be paid for your labour adequately.

**57. Infectious, contagious**  
*Infectious refers to a disease by germs. Contagious refers to a disease caused by coming into contact with a diseased person or animal.*  
 Smallpox is an infectious disease.  
 Cholera is not a contagious disease.

**58. Insinuate, Suggest**  
*To insinuate means to hint at something evil; it implies a malicious attitude.*  
 Do you mean to insinuate that I have embezzled the money?  
 I can suggest a way out of the difficulty.

**59. Idle, Lazy**  
*Idleness may be due to circumstance, but a man is lazy from habit.*  
*Laziness indicates a greater degree of idleness, and is always held in contempt.*  
*"To the idle and to the poor have always been reproaches" — Johnson*  
*"Laziness grows on people; it begins in cobwebs and ends in iron chains" — Hale*

**60. Impassable, Impossible**  
*Impassable means that which cannot be passed or crossed; impossible means that which is not possible.*  
 This place is impassable in the rainy season.  
 Nothing is impossible to a man of determination.

**61. Imperial, Imperative**  
*Imperial means pertaining to an empire and emperor; imperative means peremptory, urgent, and*  
*Nothing can equal the imperious glory of ancient Rome.*  
 It is imperative that should do it.

**62. Innocent, Innocuous**  
*Innocent means pure, and innocuous means harmless in effect.*  
 He is an innocent man.  
 This drug is perfectly innocuous, so you may take it without any fear.

**63. Judicial, Judicious**  
*Judicial means pertaining to a judge or court of justice, and judicious means prudent.*  
 The judicial proceedings were long and boring.  
 By judicious investments he increased his wealth.

**64. Likely, Liable**  
*Likely is used to express probability about the taking place of some event; liable is used when the consequences of the event are unpleasant.*  
 Very likely the University Commission will visit our college during the next month.  
 The defaulter is liable to be expelled from the college.

**65. Monstrous, Enormous**  
*Monstrous means both enormous and ugly; enormous means big in size.*  
 He made a monstrous blunder by giving the contract to a dishonest and unscrupulous contractor.  
 Such a procedure will involve enormous waste of time.

**66. Mitigate, Remove**  
*To mitigate is to make mild the burden, and to remove is to take it away altogether.*  
 Something must be done to mitigate his sufferings.  
 How can you remove your enemy from your bath?

**67. Moat, Mote**  
*A moat is a ditch surrounding a castle, a mote a particle of dust.*  
 The knight crossed the moat by swimming and reached the gate of the castle.  
 "As thick and numberless. As the gay motes that people the sunbeams." — Milton.

68. **Negligent, Negligible**  
*Negligent is applied to a person; negligible means any unimportant event or thing which may be disregarded.*  
 He is very negligent in his studies.  
 The difference between the actual and the estimated costs was almost negligible.

69. **Patrol, Petrol**  
*Patrol means to go round for watching.*  
*Petrol means gasoline.*  
 Troops regularly patrol the border.  
 I'd better fill up with petrol at the next station.

70. **Persecute, Prosecute**  
*Persecute means to punish unjustly; prosecute means to carry out a plan or to bring a law-suit against a person.*  
*Prosecute is used with reference to difference of belief or faith chiefly on religious grounds, and prosecute is of course a legal term.*  
 The Roman Catholic kings persecuted the Protestants most mercilessly.  
 He was prosecuted in charge of trespass.

71. **Prospective, Perspective**  
*Prospective means expected and it applies to the future only;*  
*Perspective means view and also means the art of drawing so as to give the effect of solidity, relative distance and size.*  
 The prospective tenant of his building which is under construction is Mr. G.M. Nasir.  
 I have placed all the facts before you and you are now in positions to study the whole situation in its true perspective.

72. **Pray, Prey**  
*To pray is to offer prayer to God, and a prey is a victim.*  
*To prey upon is to hunt and kill.*  
 "The self-same moment I could pray." – Goleridge  
 "The shark at savage prey, the hawk at pounce" – Keats.

73. **Precede, Proceed**  
*The former means to go before and the latter to go on.*  
 He was preceded by his brother.  
 Proceed and you will soon find the house you want.

74. **Prescribe, Proscribe**  
*To prescribe is to lie down or to give directions; to proscribe is to prohibit.*  
 The doctor examined the patient carefully and prescribed medicine for him.  
 The commissioner has proscribed all communistic material in his division.

75. **Provident, Providential**  
*Provident means thrifty, showing foresight, and providential means strikingly opportune or pertaining to providence*  
 He is by nature provident; hence he is never in a fix.  
 His arrival at that time was quite providential; it was not expected and it saved us.

76. **Queer, Quaint**  
*Queer is used with persons who are strange-looking and are almost abnormal.*  
*Quaint is used with reference to objects which, though old-fashioned, are attractive.*  
 As I was returning home at midnight, a queer looking person accosted me.  
 The people of tribal areas have quaint customs.

77. **Refute, Deny**  
*To refute means to overthrow by means of arguments.*  
*To deny means to hide the truth*  
 The counsel for the accused refuted the arguments of the counsel for the plaintiff.  
 He denied the statement attributed to him.

78. **Righteous, Rightful**  
*Righteous means just; rightful means having a just claim.*

The people of England were filled with a righteous indignation when the Spaniards offered an insult to their flag.  
 I am the rightful owner of this house though my cousin lives here now.

79. **Rout, Route**  
*Rout is the defeat of any army, or a crowd of travellers.*  
*Route is the course followed.*  
 The battle was a complete and utter rout.  
 I don't know what route the army will follow for going to Balochistan.

80. **Sanguine, Sanguinary**  
*Sanguine means hopeful, and sanguinary means attended with much bloodshed.*  
 He is quite sanguine of his success.  
 A sanguinary battle was fought at the Fladden Field between the Parliamentary party and King's party.

81. **Seam, Seem**  
*Seam is a line in a coat, etc. where two edges are joined; to seem is to appear to be.*  
 His old coat has many frayed seam.  
 He seems to be an honest man.

82. **Supersede, Surpass**  
*To supersede means to replace and to surpass means to excel.*  
 This order supersedes all previous communications on the subject.  
 He surpassed our expectations.

83. **Sensuous, Sensual**  
*Sensuous is used in a good sense and means pertaining to the senses, and sensual means to appeal to the best senses.*  
 Keats is the most sensuous of all the English poets.  
 He is a vile sensual beast.

84. **Sooth, Soothe**  
*The former is a noun and means truth and the latter is a verb and means to calm, to consider.*  
*"Sooth to say, he was a perfect gentle knight".*  
 The gentle breeze produced a soothing influence on my heat-oppressed brain.

85. **Stationary, Stationery**  
*The former is an adjective and means fixed, the latter is a noun and means the articles sold by a stationer.*  
 Men used to believe in old days that the earth was stationary.  
 He has opened a stationery shop in a busy locality.

86. **Storey, Story**  
*Storey means a part of building with rooms and Story means account of past events*  
 This new house has four storeys including the attic.  
 The police didn't believe in her story.

87. **Straight, Strait**  
*Straight means without*  
*Strait means narrow.*  
 This is a straight roadway.  
 "Strait is the path and narrow is the way that leadeth unto truth." – The Bible

88. **Transient, Transitory**  
*Transitory is used when referring to life or some period of life;*  
*Transient is used with reference to all other objects.*  
 The pleasures of this life are transient.  
 Youth is transitory.

89. **Tamper, Temper**  
*To tamper is to practice secretly and unfairly with a thing; to temper means to soften or modify by blending or mixture. As a noun it means the constitution of the body.*  
 I suspect that the new clerk has tampered with the accounts.  
 He easily loses his temper and starts quarreling.

90. **Truce, Treaty**  
Truce is just a suspension of hostilities between two armies, and treaty is a more formal and prolonged arrangement than truce.  
On Christmas Eve there was a truce between the two armies, but hostilities were resumed after two days.  
By a treaty Germany agreed to concede certain islands in the Pacific to Japan.

91. **Trifling, Trivial**  
Trifling means of small importance; a trivial is that which is insignificant in itself.  
What you have discovered is after all of trifling value.  
Don't waste your time by giving too much attention to trivial matters.

92. **Unqualified, Disqualified**  
Unqualified means not legally or officially qualified or not modified; disqualified means unfit, ineligible.  
Many unqualified doctor practice in our city.  
He has been disqualified from sitting in any public examination by reason of his political views.

93. **Vale, Veil**  
Vale means a valley and Veil means a mask.  
The vale of Kashmir is very beautiful.  
She raised her veil.

94. **Veracity, Voracity**  
The former means truthfulness or truth, and the latter implies greediness.  
I do not call into question the veracity of his statement.  
His voracity is amazing; he is always ready swallow things.

95. **Venture, Adventure**  
A venture is a business undertaking or a speculative action; an adventure is an exciting and daring enterprise.  
He decided to enter politics and it was a venture in the right direction.  
A young man wants to lead a life of adventure and of daring exploits.

96. **Veracity, Voracity**  
Veracity means truthfulness and Voracity means excessive eagerness.  
I don't doubt the veracity of your story.  
His voracity for love is unlimited.

97. **Waist, Waste**  
Waist means the part of the body between rib and hips.  
Waste means to use something ceaselessly.  
She tied the rope around her waist.  
In his opinion, holidays are a waste of time and money.

98. **Wilful, Willing**  
Wilful means obstinate and willing means having the will.  
He is so wilful that he does not care to listen to anybody's advice.  
He is quite willing to help me.

99. **Yearn, Crave**  
To yearn is to be filled with longing or compassion.  
To crave is to beg for something.  
The mother yearns for a sight of her absent child.  
The villain craved for pardon.

100. **Zealot, Devotee**  
A zealot is a fanatic while a devotee is just a pious person, who need not be a fanatic.  
In certain societies of Pakistan there are more zealots than peaceful devotees of religions.  
He is truly a devotee of sports.

## TRANSLATION

### Passage 1

آج کل اس نشانی کے درمیں ہر کوئی اپنا اولاد حاصل کرتا ہے۔ کوئی کسی کی پر دانیں کرتا۔ نہ کسی کے دل میں خاکہ بارہے نہ  
خروس۔ اخلاق اور ارزوں پر نہ ہیں۔ ہم نہ صرف انہاں سے مطلب پرستی رکھتے ہیں بلکہ اپنے ملک سے بھی۔ کیا ہم سب مل کر کہیں سوچا  
ہے کہ اس ملک میں جہاں کسی بارے شاریانے بیچتے ہو اب دشت گردی کا سامان۔ لیکن اب بھی کچھ نہیں ہے۔ اگر ہم پاکستان سے پچھا  
بہت کریں اور اپنے ملک میں جماں تکمیل تو ہم خود یعنی کی خالیاں رور کر کے ہیں ہم سب ہی کل کے معمار ہیں۔ ہمیں فرقہ پرستی غربت و  
اہارت اور اپنی راہی کے فرقہ کو مدار بنا پا جائے ہمیں یہ جان ہر کاریں ملک کا مستقبل سوار نہ ہے۔ دعا کریں کہ اس ملک و قوم کا ہر فرد تمہارو  
کاریں ملک کی گل کر کرہڑا جائے کیونکہ کوئی کر نہ دے پا کستان تو ہم سب زندہ ہیں۔

**Translation:** Today, in this age of self-centeredness, everyone has an axe to grind. No one cares for others. True love and sincerity are nonexistent like a snowball in hell. Moral values are on the wane. We go after our vested interests not only with our fellows but also with our homeland. Did we ever think collectively that our dear country, where some time happiness reigned supreme, is now afflicted with terrorism? But it's never too late to mend. If we love Pakistan in true sense of the word and hold ourselves accountable, we can remove many of our faults on our own. We are all the builders of tomorrow. We should do away with the differences between sects and groups, profuseness and penury, and high and low. We have to join hands to make the future of this country brighter. Let's pray that every citizen of this country collectively take care of this land of the pure because we are alive and kicking only if our country survives.

### Passage 2

دہرات روں سکات لینڈ کا دارثا وفا۔ اسے اگر ہر دل سے کنی پار گھست ہوئی۔ دہزاد گی بچانے کے لئے بھاگا اور ایک غار میں چھپ گیا۔ دہ  
پتھے کی اسید کوچکا قا۔ جیسے کہ دہماں پڑا سرچا ہمچا آیا کہ دہابنی جدوجہد ترک کرے یا انہ کرے اس نے ایک کٹری و کیمی جو غار کی  
چھت میں اپنے جالے لئے بکپتے کی کوٹھ کر ری تھی۔ دہبار بار پھرے گرتی گرا بینی کو شش ترک نہ کرتی۔ آخر کار اپنی نویں کو شش میں یہ  
بچھا کیا۔ اپنے گر بیچ کیا۔ اس بات نے دارثا دہس کو خوسلہ دیا۔ دہزادی نہیں طور پر لٹنے کے لئے تیار ہو گیا اور اس دفعہ دہلائی جیت گیا۔

**Translation:** King Robert Bruce ruled over Scotland. He had been defeated many times by the English. He ran for his life and hid himself in a cave. He had lost all hopes to win. As he lay there thinking if he should give up his struggle or not, he saw a spider trying to reach its cobweb in the ceiling of the cave. It fell down again and again but did not give up its attempt. At last the little insect reached its home in its ninth attempt. This gave courage to king Bruce. He made up his mind to fight and this time he won the battle.

### Passage 3

اُردو پاکستان کی قومی زبان ہے مگر انگریزی پاکستان کی دفتری زبان ہے۔ موجودہ دور میں انگریزی زبان کی اہمیت بڑھ گئی ہے۔ زبان اس لیے اہم ہے کہ جدید علوم کی کتابیں اسی زبان میں لکھی جاتی ہیں۔ ہمارے ملک میں انگریزی بولنے والے کو عالم سمجھا جاتا ہے۔ ملک سے باہر جانے کے لیے انگریزی سیکھنا ضروری ہے۔ انگریزی ایک میں الاقوامی زبان ہے۔

**Translation:** Urdu is the national language of Pakistan, but English is considered as the official language. In the present age, the importance of English language has increased. This language is important in the sense that books on modern branches of knowledge are written in it. In our country, a person who can speak in English is regarded as a scholar. In order to go abroad, it is essential to learn English. It is an international language.

### Passage 4

اپنے پوشیدہ عجیب کو معلوم کرنے کے لیے وہ کھنڈا ضروری ہے کہ ہمارے دشمن ہم کو کیا کہتے ہیں۔ ہمارے دوست اکثر ہمارے دل کے موافق ہماری تعریف کرتے ہیں۔ اول تو ہمارے عجیب اُن کو عجب ہی نہیں کہتے یا پھر وہ ہماری خاطر کو ایسا عزیز رکھتے ہیں کہ اس کو رنجیدہ نہ کرنے کے خیال ہے ان کو چھاپتے ہیں۔ یا پھر ان سے چشم پوشی کرتے ہیں۔ برخلاف اس کے ہمارا دشمن ہم کو خوب ٹوٹا ہے اور کوئی کوئی نہیں کہنے سے ڈھونڈ کر ہمارے عجیب نہیں ہے۔ گود شمشی سے چھوٹی بات کو بڑا بنا دیتا ہے۔ دوست ہمیشہ اپنے دوست کی عجیب ہو جاتا ہے اور دشمن یہوں کو اس لیے ہمیں اپنے دشمن کا زیادہ احسان مند ہو جاتا ہے کہ وہ ہمیں ہمارے عجیب سے مطلع کرتا ہے۔ اس تاثر میں دیکھا جائے تو دشمن دوست سے بہتر ثابت ہوتا ہے۔

**Translation:** In order to be aware of our hidden flaws, it is imperative that we know what our enemies say about us. It is because our friends often praise us as we want them to, and they either don't consider our flaws as flaws or they act considerate towards us and cover up or ignore them to spare/to not hurt our feelings. On the contrary, our enemy keeps fishing for our weaknesses and foibles. Although, they try to make a mountain out of a molehill, yet there is always some reality in that. A friend always promotes his friend's good deeds, but an enemy highlights the flaws. So we should be more indebted to our enemy because he makes us aware of our shortcomings. If seen in this context, an enemy is better than a friend.

### Passage 5

نسل انسانی سائنس اور اس کی ابجادات کی نہایت احسان صدیے۔ گزشتہ دو سو سالوں سے کہ دوران سائنس نے زندگی کے تقریباً تمام شعبوں میں عظیم انتقال پیدا کر دیا ہے۔ وقت اور خلا کی تحریر ایک عظیم کارنامہ ہے۔ دنیا سکر کر جیونی کی رہ گئی ہے۔ وہ فنا ملے جو معاشر میں بھیوں میں ملے ہوتے تھے اب مہنگوں میں ملے کیجئے جاتے ہیں۔ ہم چاند کا سفر کر کرے ہیں اور دہاک کی گاہ کے نمونے لے کر زمیں پر داپٹا کر کے ہیں۔ تیز قیاز رائے آمد و رفت نے سفر کا ایک خونگوار تجربہ بنادیا ہے۔ یورپ یا امریکا کا سفر ایک معمولی ہی ہاتھ میں گیا ہے۔ اب یہ ممکن ہو گیا ہے کہ آپ دوپہر کا کھانا لا ہو رہ میں کھائیے، رات کا لندن میں اور اگلی صبح ناشہ نیویارک میں کریں۔ اگر اب بے طوطہ کو دوبارہ زندگی مل سکتی تو وہ موجودہ دنیا کو معاشر کے مقابلے میں رہنے کے لیے زیادہ خونگوار جگپاتا۔

**Translation:** The human race is much indebted to science and its inventions. During the past two hundred years, science has brought a great revolution in almost all the fields of life. The conquest of time and space is great achievement. The world has reduced to a small thing. The distances which were covered in months in past now can be covered only in hours. We can travel to the Moon and get its dust samples back to the Earth. The fast transportation system has made journey a pleasant experience. The journey to Europe and America has become common. Now it is possible to have lunch at Lahore, dinner at London and tomorrow breakfast at New York. If Ibn-e-Battuta had a second life, he would find the present world more pleasant as compare to the past world.

### Passage 6

تم اس دوہیں کے دوسرے مرے سے دیکھتے ہو جاتے ہے اس انی چہرے، 'عورت ہوں یا مرد' تھوڑے فاصلے سے بڑے ہی خصوصیت تھیں اور جب تو ان کے ساتھ گھنٹے ہے تو کوئی کچھ جاتا ہے اور ان پر کی جوئی ملچ کاری بالکل داشت ہو جاتی ہے۔ بعد میں پہ چڑھاتے ہیں تو خاک کے سارے بچوں ہی نہیں۔ جو ان طرح کے نئی نئی باریں جلا بہوتے ہے تو صرف اور صرف گندگی ہے تالاب میں گردن کے سلی چلا گئے ہیں کہ اور بچوں ہی نہیں کر رہا ہوتا۔ دو ایک ایسے تالاب میں چلا گئے ہیں کہ جہاں سے نیکے کا کوئی راست نہیں اور بچے کے خوبیوں کی سخت جاتا ہے۔

**Translation:** You see it from the other end of the telescope in which human faces, of both sexes, appear quite beautiful only from a distance and the more one gets in touch with them the more abundantly clear their imply lust, and as such, it is dust. He who indulges in such a lustful love plunges headlong into a dirty and filthy pool and finds no means of escape, and eventually gets lost.

### Passage 7

محبت لیتی ہے نیتی ہے اور لیتے ہیں جاتے ہے۔ جب ایک عورت کی شخص سے محبت کرتی ہے تو وہ شیرنی کی طرح محبت کرتی ہے، اسی شخص کو لگی جاتی ہے اور اپنے جنم کا حصہ بناتی ہے۔ اس دوست وہ شخص اسی جیسے کارے میں نہیں سوچتا جو اسے خوش کرتی ہے بلکہ اسے چیز کے بدلے میں سوچتا جو ان کی محبہ کو پسند آتی ہے۔ دوسرے کے اور اس کے دوسرے کے درمیان اس کے اور خدا کے درمیان کھڑی ہو جاتی ہے۔ بہت ایک لگن جانے والی چیز ہے۔ کیا تم قصور کر سکتے ہو کہ خدا میں گئی ایسی محبت ہو گی؟

**Translation:** Love takes and takes and goes on taking. When a woman loves a man, she loves with the love of a lioness and eats him up and makes him a part of herself. From that time, he has to think not of what pleases him, but of what pleases her. She stands between him and himself, between him and God. Love is devouring thing. Can you imagine Heaven with love in it?

### Passage 8

کہیں چاہنے والے شخص کا کسی بھی قسم کا پرہنٹ نکالے میں آخری عمل پر دف رینگ یا پرہنٹ ہونے والے مواد کو غلطیوں سے پاک کرنا ہے یا بات بالکل داشت ہے کہ پر دف رینگ کلئے بڑی سی خاص توجہ کی ضرورت ہوتی ہے۔ کبھی کبھار تمام لائیں آگے پیچے اور جانی یا بھر لائی ہے پیٹھ کے دوران میں خیال میں آگے پیچے ٹاپ ہو جاتے ہیں۔ کسی بھی قسم کی ایسی غلطی محتاط پر دف رینگ سے خاٹ کی جاتی ہے۔ غلطیوں کو بڑے عی صاف سحرے اور میاری انداز سے مار کر کیا جاتا چاہیے تا کہ کپورز رینگ کرنے والے کو بالکل درست غلطیاں لائیں میں کسی بھی قسم کی پیشانی کا سامانہ کرنے پڑے۔

**Translation:** The advertising man's (publisher's) last step in the process of putting words into print is that of reading proof. Obviously proofreading calls for meticulous attention. Sometimes whole lines are interchanged or words are transposed inadvertently in typesetting. Slips of any kind should be caught by careful proofreading. Proofs should be marked neatly with standard markings so that the composer or printer has no difficulty making accurate changes.

### Passage 9

تمام محل شہنشاہ خوبصورت باغات اور عمدہ عمارات سے محبت کی وجہ سے مشہور تھے اور انہوں نے بے شمار گند کی بھروسی بھیوں کو گھاس اگے باغات سائیہ دار درختوں اور بہتے ہوئے پھٹوں میں بدل دیا۔ شاہ جہاں نے سب سے زیادہ باغات اور مساجد تعمیر کیں۔ اس کی بناں ہوئی شاہزادی عمارت میں دہلی کا جامع مسجد "امبی" کیکے داد دھیں وصول کر دی ہے اور مغلیہ کام کی عمدگی کامن بولائی جوت ہے۔

**Translation:** All the Moghul emperors were known for their love of beautiful gardens and fine buildings, and they changed many dusty places into cool gardens with grass, shady trees and flowing water. Shah Jahan built more gardens and mosques than any of the others. Among the many splendid buildings which he planned, the mosque known as the 'Jami Masjid' at Delhi is still admired as one of the finest examples of Moghul work.

### Passage 10

ہر شخص نے ایک دن مر جاتا ہے! داگی زندگی صرف خدا کیلئے ہے۔ انسان کیلئے یہ بہتر ہے کہ وہ ہر این کر رہے کی جیائے عمدگی سے مر جائے۔ اگر ہم آج میردان جنگ میں شہید ہو جاتے ہیں تو ہم چچے اور یہکہ انہاں کی موت مرے اور اگر ہم زندہ رہ جاتے ہیں تو غازی کہلا کیں گے۔ آؤ! ہم قرآن پر ہاتھ رکھ کر یہ وعدہ کریں کہ ہم میں سے جب تک کوئی زندہ ہے میں ان جنگ سے نہیں بھاگے گا۔

**Translation:** Every man must die one day! Only God lives for ever. It is better for a man to die well than live badly. If we die today on the field of battle, we shall die like true men. If we live, we shall be the winners. Let us promise on the Holy Quran that none of us will leave the battle field while he is alive.

### Passage 11

"خدا میں ایسی دلی کوئی چیز موجود نہیں ہے۔" سیاہ ادی نے کہا۔ خدا محبت ہے اور محبت خدا ہے۔ "محبت وہ نہیں ہے تم محبت کہتے ہو۔ میں نے اپنی ساری زندگی انسانیت کی خدمت میں گواردی کیونکہ میری خواہش ہے کہ انسانوں اور خدا کے درمیان جو تعلق ختم ہو گیا ہے وہ پھر سے بحال ہو جائے۔ اگر تمہیں انسانوں سے محبت نہیں تو تمہیں خدا سے بھی محبت نہیں۔ محبت کرنے کے لیے ایک دوسرے کی خدمت کرو۔

**Translation:** "In Heaven there is nothing else", said the black man, "Heaven is love and love is Heaven". Love is not what call love. I give my life for the service of other human beings, because I wish that the broken fellowship between them and God may be restored. You don't love your fellow-men and so you do not love God. By love, serve one another.

### Passage 12

جب پہلی روزن بھلی بار تویی مظہر آیا تو بہت سے لوگوں نے سچا کہ اب ریڈیو کا پیر افرق ہو گیا اور واقعتاً کچھ وقت کیلئے ریڈیو کے سامنے نہیں تھے نتھیں میڈیم کے چاؤ میں اسے سکر بھلا دیا۔ لیکن آج ریڈیو پلے کی نسبت کافی بہتر حالات میں ہے اور آہستہ بہتری کی طرف گامز ہے۔ اصل حالہ یہ بھی ہے کہ ریڈیو نتھیں میڈیم سے تھے۔ وہ تصوڑیا خیال ہے ایک ناظر فنی وی سکرین پر دیکھتا ہے۔ ختم اور وہ تصوڑیا نتھیں ہی نتھر کیا جا رہا ہے۔

**Translation:** When television first appeared on the national scene, many people thought radio was doomed. And true, for a while radio's audiences diminished in the excitement over the new broadcast medium. But today radio is stronger than ever and going on steadily. Radio is actually, psychologically different from T.V. too. The image a viewer sees when he is watching the T.V. screen is precisely the image that is being telecast.

### Passage 13

اوکیوں کی کہ وہ مصروفی پیش کر گی چڑے از رہا تھا اور عشق معاشرت فرماتا تھا جبکہ روم میں ان کے سب سے بڑے دشمن چپی نے اپنی فوجوں کو روم کے گردا کران کا گیرا لاحق اور ان کی زندگی ایجن روم میں واپس آیا تو اس نے بھاپ لیا کہ اس کی دوستی ان دونوں کے ساتھ کچھ مانند پڑ گئی ہے اور ان کے یادانے میں کچھ درازیں آگئی ہیں۔ اسے محوس کیا کہ اسے اپنے دوستوں خاص کروائیوں کو جو کہ کافی جو خیال اور روم پر اکیلا عراج کرنے کا خواہش مند تھا، کور اسخی اور مطہن کرنے کیلئے کچھ نہ کچھ عمرہ کام کر کے دکھاتا پڑے گا۔

**Translation:** Octavius complained that he was drinking and eating and wasting his time in merry-making in Egypt while Rom's great enemy, Pompy, was bringing his armies closer. When Antony arrived in Rome he found that his friendship with these two had cooled. He felt that he had to do something to regain the respect of his friends, particularly Octavius who was known to be ambitious and eager to rule Rome alone.

### Passage 14

آٹھ میل اللہ علیہ وسلم اور آپ کے قاتم رہتے درمیان سال سکن اور دی میں رہے۔ بہت سے مسلمان ہمیں ان کے ساتھ ہو گئے۔ دادی سکن پہنچنے والی قاتم رسد کاٹ دی گئی۔ ان کے اس بات کی گرانی کرتے کہ بنوہاشم کی کمائی پہنچنے کی میچ نہ ہے۔ غریب بنوہاشم کو درختوں کے پتوں، جڑوں اور جہازیوں پر ٹزرا کرنا پڑا۔ بچوں کی حالت خاص طور پر قابلِ رم تھی۔ آخر کار کے کچھ روم دل لوگوں کو بنوہاشم پر رم آیا۔ انہوں نے کعبہ میں گئے جہادے کے نکارے کر دیے۔ اس طرح فاقہ درد بنوہاشم اپنے گروہوں کو واپس آنے کے قابل ہوئے۔

**Translation:** For three years, the Master and all his relatives lived in this valley. Many of the Muslims too joined them. All supplies to the valley were cut off. The Makkans saw to it that no food reached Banu Hashim. The poor Banu Hashim had to live on the leaves and roots of trees or drink reached Banu Hashim. The poor Banu Hashim had to live on the leaves and roots of trees or drink reached Banu Hashim. The poor Banu Hashim had to live on the leaves and roots of trees or drink reached Banu Hashim. The condition of children was particularly pitiable. At last some kind hearted Makkans took pity on Banu Hashim. They tore to pieces the agreement hanging in the Kaaba. The hunger stricken Banu Hashim were thus able to come back to their homes.

### Passage 15

ہم ایسی ایسی کوئی بیچ موجود نہیں ہے۔ "سیاہ دی نے کہا۔ خدا مجت ہے اور مجت خدا ہے۔" مجت وہ نہیں ہے تم مجت کہتے ہو۔ میں نے اپنی ساری زندگی انسانیت کی خدمت میں گزار دی کیونکہ میری خواہش ہے کہ انسانوں اور خدا کے درمیان جو تعلق نہ ہو گلایا ہے وہ بھرے بھال ہو جائے۔ اگر تمہیں انسانوں سے مجت نہیں تو تمہیں خدا سے بھی مجت نہیں۔ مجت کرنے کے ذریعے ایک دوسرے کی خدمت کرو۔

**Translation:** "In Heaven there is nothing else", said the black man, "Heaven is love and love is Heaven". Love is not what call love. I give my life for the service of other human beings, because I wish that the broken fellowship between them and God may be restored. You don't love your fellow-men and so you do not love God. By love, serve one another.

### Passage 16

جب میل دیڑھن پہلی بار تو می خضر پر آیا تو بہت سے لوگوں نے سوچا کہ اب ریڈیو کا یہ اغرق ہو گیا اور واقعتاً پھر وقت کیلے ریڈیو کے سامنے نے نکریاں میڈیم کے چاٹ میں اسے تکریبلا دیا۔ لیکن آج ریڈیو پہلے کی نسبت کافی بہتر حالات میں ہے اور آہستہ آہستہ بہتری کی طرف گامز ہے۔ اصل معاملہ یہ ہمی ہے کہ ریڈیو نفیاں کااظہ سے الی وی سے مختلف ہے۔ وہ تصور یا تیال ہے ایک ناظری وی سکرین پر دیکھتا ہے۔ منظر اور تصور یا نقش ہی شر کیا جا رہا ہوتا ہے۔

**Translation:** When television first appeared on the national scene, many people thought radio was doomed. And true, for a while radio's audiences diminished in the excitement over the new broadcast medium. But today radio is stronger than ever and going on steadily. Radio is actually, psychologically different from T.V. too. The image a viewer sees when he is watching the T.V. screen is precisely the image that is being telecast.

### Passage 17

اوکیوئس نے شکایت کی کہ وہ مصر میں پیش کر گئی چیزے اور ہاتھ اور عشق معاشرت فرمادا تھا جبکہ روم میں ان کے سب سے بڑے وہ فن پھی نے اپنی فوجوں کو روم کے گردا کر ان کا گھیر اٹک اور ان کی زندگی ایجن کر دی تھی۔ جب انہوں نے روم میں داہم آیا تو اس نے بھاپ لیا کہ اس کی دوستی ان دونوں کے ساتھ کچھ ماند پڑ گئی ہے اور ان کے یارانے میں کچھ دراثتیں آئیں گی ہیں۔ اس نے محسوس کیا کہ اسے اپنے دوستوں خاص کراؤ کریوئس، جو کہ کافی جو شیا اور روم پر اکیلاہی راج کرنے کا خواہیں مدد تھا، کو راضی اور مطمئن کرنے کیلے کچھ نہ کوئے عمرہ کام کر کے دکھانا پڑے گا۔

**Translation:** Octavius complained that he was drinking and eating and wasting his time in merry-making in Egypt while Rom's great enemy, Pomp, was bringing his armies closer. When Antony arrived in Rome he found that his friendship with these two had cooled. He felt that he had to do something to regain the respect of his friends, particularly Octavius who was known to be ambitious and eager to rule Rome alone.

تی ایس ایس، پی ایس ایس، پی ایس ایس اور مقابلے کے دیگر امتحانات کے لیے

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